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MEMOIRS OF DR. COOPER



Photo: Lafayette

JAMES COOPER

1900

1846-

JAMES COOPER

Presbyter in the Church of God, M.A., D.D. (Aberdeen & Oxford), Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin), D.C.L. (Durham), LL.D. Glasgow; Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow; Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, A.D. 1917.

A MEMOIR

BY

H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A., D.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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MAJOR CHARLES
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PREFACE

LESS material for an account of Dr. Cooper exists than might have been looked for in the case of one busy in so many spheres and prominent in various movements. In the short interval between his surrender of his Chair and his death he had purposed to write an autobiography, and in spite of failing health had made some beginning of it ; enough to show how delightful the work might have been in its completion ; for so far as it goes it is a singularly characteristic piece of writing, reminiscent to his friends of his manner of conversation in its wealth of memories, in its quaint and humorous enjoyment of the past and in its shrewd appreciations. The glimpse which it gives of the little world of his beloved Elgin, as it was three-quarters of a century ago, self-centred and important in its scarcely disturbed isolation, the chief place of a well defined province, modestly opulent and consciously representative of the older Scottish culture and custom—with its society well knit, intimate, friendly, exacting, and with its sufficient standards of taste and gentility : all this one is sorry to set aside as unready for publication. That fragment is, however, the only accessible source for the period of Dr. Cooper's life which it covers, and it is largely paraphrased in the narrative given of these first years.

There is also a Diary of his years at the Divinity Hall at Aberdeen University and of his probation as a Licentiate. It ends with his ordination to the Presbyterate, and for later years there are only working diaries of engagements and incidents, in which occasional comments or observations occur. Of his general correspondence, large as it was, comparatively few of his correspondents seem to have kept his

letters. One or two series of personal letters have fortunately been preserved, and most of the quotations in what follows are from these.

Dr. Cooper was deeply concerned in the proceedings of the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in conference with representatives of the United Free Church, and in discussions which have resulted in *Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland*, and on that subject numerous letters exist ; but seeing that the negotiations to which they relate are still pending, and that the actors in these negotiations are for the most part still present with us (Dr. Cooper in a letter as to his intended autobiography says, " One cannot well write of living people "), these letters are not used for the purposes of this Memoir ; and for the rest, at much cost to the interest of the Memoir, due regard is paid to the limitation which Dr. Cooper himself, as quoted above, has laid down.

Dr. Cooper had projected for his autobiography a preliminary chapter explanatory of his own spiritual origins ; and some considerable sections of that exist in a form which his letters show was satisfactory to himself. They give some account of his native district of Moray, as to which he justly felt that readers ought to understand its tradition and atmosphere, if they were to understand himself. In spite of a gap where part of his manuscript is lost, what remains seems worth reproducing, both because it embodies his own conception of a fitting introduction to his story, and because it gives his own statement of his position as a Churchman. It constitutes Chapter I of the present book. The title, dedication and motto prefixed to it are those which Dr. Cooper had adopted for his intended work.

Like other notes of the kind, those from Dr. Cooper's diary are sometimes ragged, and even so compressed as to invite simplification. But they are quoted as they stand, except that abbreviations, where their intention is obvious, have here and there been extended, and here and there the annoyance of dots, to indicate omissions, have been spared to the reader.

In the third chapter of what follows, I have, by kind permission, made more or less use of some pages which had already appeared in the *Constructive Quarterly Review*, December, 1920.

The thanks of the writer of this Memoir are due to correspondents who have entrusted him with letters, to old friends of Dr. Cooper and to his students who have communicated reminiscences and impressions; and to his friends who have assisted him with their advice or in the actual labour of dealing with a mass of somewhat refractory material.

H. J. WOTHERSPOON.

EDINBURGH,

November, 1925.

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"Can ye say wha the carle was wi' the black coat and the mousted heid, that was wi' the Laird of Cairnvreckan?"

"A Presbyterian clergyman," answered Waverley.

"Presbyterian!" answered Gilfillan, "a wretched Erastian, or rather an obscured Prelatist,—a favourer of the black Indulgence, ane o' thae dumb dogs that canna bark; . . . their sermons without ony sense, savour, or life—Ye've been fed in siccan a fauld, belike?"

"No, I am of the Church of England," said Waverley.

"And they're just neighbourlike," replied the Covenanter; "and nae wonder they gree sae weel."

CHAPTER I

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A SCOTTISH CLERGYMAN

(Dedicated with sincere affection to my dear Wife)

“**W**HAT is thine occupation? and whence comest thou?” “What is thy country? and of what people art thou?” Thus do the seamen in the Book of Jonah question the passenger who had obtruded himself upon them; nor were they mistaken in believing that information on these particulars would help them to understand what manner of man they had to deal with. For character is, to some extent, hereditary; a man’s calling—if he is earnest in it—is bound to determine his outlook; while his opinions, his likes and dislikes, and aspirations, will have received from his native country a bent strong in proportion to his love for it and his knowledge of its story. This at any rate has been the case with me, as the following pages will, perhaps too abundantly, demonstrate.

I am a Scotsman *pur sang*, unadulterated—if this be the right word—for over two hundred years certainly, and probably for two hundred more, by any admixture of another strain. Nor in lineage alone: I share to the full the Scotsman’s pride in his land and in his race. It is true that, just as Cowper, than whom no one loved his England more, could bid her note

“ a blot or two

Which so much beauty would do well to purge,” so I claim a patriot’s right to censure where censure is deserved, to advocate desirable reforms, and as a teacher to labour in the weary task of at least trying to correct the hoary misrepresentations of our ecclesiastical history especially, which still appear in our popular manuals. “Why should young Scotsmen¹ be taught lies?” asked

¹ [In Mr. Lang’s text the words are “little Presbyterians.”—ED.]

the most brilliant of our recent historians, Mr. Andrew Lang, a Scotsman to the very marrow of his bones. Like him, though accustomed to speak English from my childhood—and we think we speak it well in my native town—I delight in the genuine “auld Scots tongue,” so different from the mere vulgarisms which now-a-days usurp its name. I remember it, especially among my Banffshire and Aberdeenshire friends, the habitual speech of old ladies who could say nothing unladylike. I understand it, and can speak it. I appreciate its racy phraseology, and I should be ashamed not to be familiar with the literature enshrined in it, from the verse of Dunbar and the prose of Bellenden to the songs of Burns, the novels of Scott and Galt, and Dean Ramsay’s delightful *Reminiscences*.

My heart—need a Scotsman say it?—is stirred by the tragedy and the glory of my countrymen’s age-long fight for freedom, from the Mons Grampius and Nechtansmere through Largs, and Falkirk, and Bannockburn, to Worcester and Drumclog. Yet I confess that, all the more as I reflect on these things, do I realise the immense ruin and the unutterable sins and miseries which those same wars involved; and I bless God for the happy union in which His gracious providence has long since bound the two realms of our island in a United Kingdom more secure and greater than either nation could ever have attained to by itself alone. Of the two members in this indissoluble partnership, so beneficial to both, Scotland has unquestionably been the greater gainer; while its accomplishment came in such a manner as to hurt the susceptibilities of neither. The Union of the Crowns in 1603 was effected by the succession of a King of Scots, the undoubted heir to the English throne, yet himself Scottish by both parents, and not less so in the cast of his mind and his strong affection for his native land. James VI and I strove to unite the two Parliaments and thus to enable Scotland to share in the trade of England. He did manage to get the two national Churches to agree in a settlement that gave to the Church of Scotland twenty-five years of greater progress than any single quarter of a century has done since. Under this settlement the two Churches retained their ancient independence of each other, their own courts and usages, their own doctrinal statements, their own forms of worship. With the unanimous consent of a General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1610—an Assembly at least as free, if not as

bold, as that of 1638,¹ and without the re-ordination of any of her Presbyters, the Church of Scotland obtained an Episcopate canonical yet subject in matters spiritual to her General Assembly, and was brought into full communion and cordial friendship with the Church of England. Straight way she saw the rise within her own borders of a galaxy of learned divines of different schools, and the rapid diffusion of art and culture : under this system also was provided out of the teinds “ whilk are the patrimony of the Kirk,” the modest provision for her parish ministers which she still enjoys. She does not always remember, I suspect, her debt for this last to the pious determination of King Charles I and the administrative wisdom of Archbishop Spottiswood, both of whom had been stirred by Sir Henry Spelman’s treatise on the fate of the spoilers in the Tudor sacrilege. Charles would have given us further a noble Liturgy of Scottish compilation—that of 1637, erroneously and maliciously called “ Laud’s,”² but unfortunately both these benefits were so marred in the bestowing that their merits were for the time obliterated and their authors execrated instead of blessed.

The Union of the Parliaments in 1707 was also disliked at first in Scotland, but what a blessing it has proved ! It also was effected under a Stuart sovereign, Queen Anne, the great-granddaughter of James VI and inheriting his earnest desire for its accomplishment. By it, as Professor Terry felicitously observes :—“ Two states had been joined in one. The nations were preserved.”

Thus, without losing aught that was her own, Scotland entered on the inheritance of all that England had already won, and obtained an equal partnership in all that the two together have since achieved. None will deny that she has fulfilled her duty well—notably in those two great wars in which Britain was honoured to be a main instrument in delivering Europe from two formidable despots, and also in the continuous and not less glorious tasks of ruling the innumerable peoples committed to our charge, and of spreading among them the knowledge of Him in Whom alone we have eternal life. Who that considers these things would not be proud of such a union, and profoundly thankful for it ? For my part, I can hardly conceive of anything

¹ See for the record of its proceedings *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*.

² See Introduction to my edition of it. Blackwood’s, Edinburgh, 1904.

less patriotic in a Scotsman, (or indeed a more direct flying in the face of Heaven) than the doing of aught to perpetuate or revive the ancient and decaying animosities. It is more friendship that the two nations need, a fuller knowledge of each other, a more sedulous care for each other's well-being, not less. We need it in the Churches, just as much as in the State; he is a poor friend either to Scotland or her Church that does not see this, or does not pray for it and work towards it. So it should be in regard to Ireland also, the first of the three Kingdoms to be wholly Christian and the most widely influential in spreading the Faith through Scotland and England alike. The story of our mutual relations ever since¹, is not pleasant reading: the misery of it is that not only have the crimes of the past on both sides been, in a feebler way, continuous, but the glorification also of those who committed them, as if, in spite of S. Paul, "we have pleasure in them that do such things!" (Rom. i-32).

II

There is, however, a local as well as a national patriotism, and in Scotland the former is peculiarly strong. Small as the country is, many of its different districts were of old practically inaccessible from each other, while important divergences—geological, climatic, economic, ecclesiastical and racial—could not be or have not been obliterated. In the Scotsmen of to-day is blended the blood of many peoples—Britons (Welsh) of Strathclyde; "Caledonians and other Picts" in Galloway and in the North-Eastern counties from the Forth to the Nairn—Scots (Gaels) from Ireland who in the Fourth Century founded in Argyllshire the kingdom and the dynasty destined to so magnificent a future; Northumbrian Angles in Lothian, Berwickshire and the valleys of the Teviot and Esk,—it was they who taught us to speak English, and broad Scots represents the English which they taught us; Norse rovers who gained possession of Caithness and its Southern pasture land as well as of the Orkneys, the Shetlands, with several also of the Hebrides. Nor may we forget the influx, less numerous but not less influential, of Englishmen, Flemings, Frisians, Normans,—the Stuarts were Bretons—many of them

¹ Bede, *Ecc. History*, IV, p. 26. "A.D. 684, Sigfrid, King of the Northumbrians, sent an army into Ireland which miserably wasted that friendly nation."

knights or nobles, but many of them craftsmen, who found a welcome in Scotland under the noble line of kings, the issue of the never-to-be-forgotten and most happy marriage of the Gaelic-speaking Malcolm III (Canmore) with Saint Margaret, the heiress of the blood, the culture and the virtues of Alfred the Great. We all are proud to be Scotsmen now, however our predilections may differ. The most marked distinction is naturally that between the Gael and the Lowlander, in whom the difference of language reinforces to this hour the contrasted conditions of land and life. Among the Highlanders themselves, however, the old clan feelings are by no means extinguished; while Lowlanders and Highlanders, even when they are neighbours, seem never to have cared much to intermarry. Then again, though the Gaels, the Picts and the old Britons of Strathclyde were all Celts, they differ, and differed still, in many ways. The religious enthusiasm of the West, which came out of old in the Lollards of Kyle, the Protesters of 1651, and in the unyielding covenanting remnant of 1661-88, is not yet wholly overwhelmed in the "loud stirring tide" of Glasgow's trade and commerce, and bespeaks a closer kinship with the Welsh than with the stolid and loyal Picts of the Eastern seaboard; while in the villages of the Border dales Pope Gregory, were he to return to earth, might still find children fair as those he declared to be "non Angli sed Angli."

Moray, my native province, is, with the exception of Caithness, perhaps the part of Scotland that is least generally known, but it holds a primary place among what I may call with Hugh Miller "my Schools and Schoolmasters," and I feel that without some account of it much that follows could hardly be understood even by some of my Scottish readers. It was described by the most distinguished of its recent sons, the late Rev. Dr. Gordon,¹ Minister of Birnie, as "one of the most natural divisions of Scotland; bordered on the West by the Beaulieu, on the East by the Spey, on the North by the Moray Firth, and on the South by the watershed of the Grampians." It consists of a maritime plain of varying width, and a huge hinterland of hill and mountain, pierced by the river courses of the Spey, the Lossie, the Findhorn, the Nairn, and the Ness—five beautiful streams of clear water, rich in trout and salmon. The Spey is one of the longest of Scottish rivers, and so rapid that

¹ See Appendix to this Chapter.

it is said to pour into the sea a larger quantity of water than any other ; the scenery on " the arrowy Findhorn," as " Christopher North " called it, may well be, as he said, the finest of its kind in the Island ; and the Ness is the outlet of the Loch of the same name, the largest of the three lakes in " the Great Glen " always the chief highway from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the North Sea.

Ptolemy calls the Lossie " Loxia," whence George Buchanan's remark that it " still retains its ancient name." It is the smallest ; but in Ptolemy's time, and for long after, it flowed through the Loch of Spynie, which was thus its estuary, giving access for ships to a secure haven, the only natural one on that coast east of Inverness, and therefore noticeable by pilots of the Roman fleet, to whose reports the geographer owed the best part of his information. Tradition told how the Findhorn as well as the Lossie once flowed through it ; and improbable as the story looks, it is favoured by the witness of place-names, which indeed may be pleaded in regard to the Spey also. Certain it is that in 1397 it was a navigable, and navigated, arm of the sea, and though a hundred and fifty years later it is spoken of as a loch, it was not till 1609 that, under the direction of an Aberdeen engineer—David Anderson of Finyeach—" Davie-do-a'thing," as his admiring townsmen called him, in order to improve the drainage, a new course was cut for the Lossie, and the sometime estuary began to shrink into a marsh.¹ Twice over in its early history it must have been a very Lucrine Lake for oysters : whether the Romans found this out or not I cannot say, but the fact was demonstrated by the abundance of the shells discovered in the latest attempt to drain it (1860-3). They lay thick on the part belonging to my father's farm, and I made a collection for the Elgin Museum of them and of other marine shells mingled with them. They lay about eighteen inches below the bottom of the loch, in two strata of sea-land, separated by a stratum of peat (composed apparently of heather) with shells of the borer molluscs penetrating it.

The inhabitants of Moray vaunt their winter climate as the best in Britain ; but the East wind can be very sharp in Spring ; a gale from the West can raise on the lighter fields a dust-storm terrible to look at ; and the district often suffers from excessive drought. It is rain that its natives pray for, and well do I remember my

¹ *The Parish of Spynie*, Robert Young. Elgin, 1871.

father going out, when at last it came, just to feel the gracious drops on his outstretched hands and to render thanks to Him Who "giveth us rain and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." I quote two local proverbs :—

"A misty May and a drappy June

Put the bonnie land o' Moray up and aboon."

and "Moray would tak' a shower ilka day, and a spate on Sunday."

It does get "spates" occasionally, the very dryness of the soil helping the rain to run off the surface. The Moray Floods of 1829 are historical, and in September, 1915, when the Battle of Loos was being fought there was a spate which cut off access by rail to Elgin, and drowned a poor woman in her own cottage.

It must not be supposed, however, that it is only the natives of Moray who speak its praises. All our Scottish topographers wax eloquent upon the theme. George Buchanan,¹ for example, declares that "the whole region is so fertile in crops, in pastures, in amenities and the produce of fruit-bearing trees, as to be easily the first in the whole realm": while Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, writing in 1640, expatiates on the salubrity of its climate, and "the richness and fertility of its soil, in which it much exceeds our other Northern provinces"; and allows the justice of its natives' boast that they have forty days more of fine weather in every year than their neighbours. "There is no product of this kingdom," he adds, "which does not thrive perfectly, or, if any fail, it is to be attributed to the sloth of the inhabitants and not to the fault of the soil or climate. . . . Corn, the earth pours forth in wonderful and never-failing abundance, fruits of all sorts, herbs, flowers and pulse, are in the greatest plenty. While harvest has scarcely begun in other parts, there all is ripe and cut down. . . . So much of the soil is occupied with crops that pasture is scarce . . . but it is found at no great distance . . . in the upland districts . . . whither the oxen are sent to graze in the summer when the labour of the season is over. Nowhere is there better meat or cheaper corn, not from scarcity of money but from the abundance of the soil." On the other hand, he says, fuel is hard to come by; for peats are few; the woods which a hundred years previously are described as clothing the low hills, had been

¹ *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, I.

used up, leaving the country bare of trees as in Slezer's *Views* (circ. 1690). One panegyric of its climate goes round the world—the lines which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of King Duncan as he approaches Macbeth's castle at Inverness :—

“ This castle hath a pleasant seat ; the air
Nimble and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle senses.”

The earliest notices of Moray describe it as politically a Pictish Province, and the first recorded scene in its history shews it under the rule of their head king, Brude Mac Maelchon, who reigned at Inverness, where his royal fort stood West of the river. Thither, in a year the most memorable surely in Scottish history, 563, came the mightiest of our missionary Apostles, Saint Columba, seeking from the King, if we may trust the consentaneous testimony of the English Bede and the Irish Tirechan—a grant of Iona, the little Western Isle which his labours were to render illustrious for ever.

It is not till four hundred years later that we meet with a successor of King Brude that is more to us than a mere shadow. This was Finlay, whom the Sagas describe as Jarl, and the Pictish Chronicle as King of Moray. The foundations of his vitrified stronghold can still be traced at Cawdor ; and he seems to have done something for his territory, till, provoking the great Norse Earl Sigurd, he lost both it and his life. Finlay was the father of Macbeth (1005-57), the only native of the province whose name is familiar in the mouths of all men ; though Shakespeare's presentation of him, which has given him his fame, has blackened his character more deeply than the historical facts, as we now see them, will warrant. Of Moray, and in particular of Cawdor, which the poet, following his authorities, makes a gift to him from Duncan, he was his father's heir, though he had to recover both from invading hands. He ruled the region as Brude had done, from Inverness, shifting, however, his residence to the East side of the river, on a bluff looking down the Frith, so as to afford him the first notice of any Scandinavian galleys that might appear on the horizon.¹ From the natives he had nothing to fear : they were his own people, and he their chief. Not so with the builders of two other forts which were to rise within

¹ At Inverness in the summer of 1917 I was shewn some remains of a circular *rath*, which had formed part of this castle.—J. C.

the town. Of these, the earlier, the precursor of the modern embattled jail now styled "the Castle," was erected by Malcolm Canmore to overawe any remaining adherents of Macbeth; and it accordingly looked inland, up the glen by which they might descend to retake the town. The latter, called "the Citadel" dates from 1652-7 and marks Cromwell's fear, even after his "crowning mercy," of a renewed expedition from abroad in support of King Charles II. Its site, therefore, is at the mouth of the river, where remnants of it—a few earthen breast-works and a slender tower—may still be seen; but the ecclesiologist will search there in vain for any piece of sculpture that might have adorned either of the two noble churches which were pulled down to provide the stones for it—Fortrose Cathedral and Kinloss Abbey. Both had served as parish churches for close upon a hundred years, and had been spared alike by the Reformers of 1560 and the Covenanters of 1638.

To the crown of Scotland Macbeth had pretensions which in his day appear to have been regarded—at any rate by the Gaels, who still formed the greater part of the population—as superior to those of Duncan. Duncan was indeed the grandson of Malcolm II his immediate predecessor, but by his daughter. But Malcolm himself was not so near in the male line as Boedhe, whose daughter Gruoch Macbeth had married. To secure the throne for Duncan, Malcolm had murdered Boedhe, but Gruoch had by a former marriage a son named Lulach, who, or his mother, was the rightful heir; and of both according to the law and ideas of the time Macbeth was the guardian and the representative.

Duncan, moreover, was a young man who in the five years since his accession had shewn himself at once foolish and aggressive. An invasion of England had ended in disaster: the heads of his foot-soldiers hung on posts in the market-place of Durham! Now he had picked a quarrel with the Norse. Penetrating into Moray he had failed in an attack on their stronghold at Burghead (which Macbeth had not been able to take from them); had been obliged to retreat; and was making for his own territory beyond the Spey. He never reached that river. At the "smith's bothy"—Bothgownan in Gaelic, but retaining to this day the Pictish form of the same name, Pitgaveny, where a stone still marks the spot—he either died, according

to the Gaelic account, of a disease from which he had long suffered ; or, as the later Lowland chroniclers affirm, was slain by Macbeth, or so severely wounded that he expired the next day at Elgin. We may admit that Macbeth was not a David, to spare his enemy when he found him. But there is no evidence that his deed was regarded with horror at the time. He succeeded without question to the throne ; held it for seventeen years ; lost it, not so much by Scottish as by English, arms : “ forced by those that should be ours ” ; and left it to Lulach, who was duly crowned at Scone and reigned for over seven months, till he was defeated and slain by Duncan’s son, Malcolm III (Canmore). Both Macbeth and Lulach were buried at Iona.—

“ The sacred storehouse of their predecessors
And guardian of their bones.”

How strange are the ironies of authentic history ! The monarch whom we have been accustomed to regard as a tyrant and a “ butcher ” resorting to witches, and stirred up by “ his fiend-like queen,” lives in our real annals as a sovereign prosperous, just and devout. A Gaelic bard, who had known him, sings of him :—

“ The red one was fair, yellow, tall ;
Pleasant was the youth to me ;
Brimful was Alban, East and West
During the reign of Dearg the fierce.”¹

Wynton is also complimentary :—

“ Macbeth succeeded in Duncan’s stead,
And seventeen wynter full regnand
As king he was intill Scotland.
All this time was grat plente
Abounding baith by land and sea,
He was in justice right lawful.
And to his lieges all awful.
And all his time used he to work
Profitably for Holy Kirk.”

Both he and his wife appear among the early benefactors of the Culdees of Lochleven. Macbeth was the only one of our reigning monarchs that went on pilgrimage to Rome, and there also he showed himself generous to the sick and poor. It was in the pontificate of the good Pope, Leo IX.

Even stranger is a second irony. Macbeth, so far from being, in his own eyes or those of his contemporaries, a manifest usurper, was the champion of “ indefeasible

¹ *Chronicles of the Picts*. “ Prophecy of S. Berchan,” written soon after the death of Macbeth.

hereditary right," against the innovating and blood-stained Malcolm II, who had broken through the Scottish law of succession, much as in the Nineteenth century Ferdinand VII was to do in Spain. Henceforth the men of Moray are the Biscayans of Scotland, legitimists at whatever cost, supporting (1134), against David I, Dengus Macbeth or Macheth—(two attempts to Anglicise the Gaelic Macbheath) the grandson of Lulach and claiming as the heir of Macbeth; and twice over, Donald Ban MacWilliam, "who said he was born of the Royal stock, *et de jure parentum*" was heir of the kingdom,¹ against William the Lion (1187) and Alexander II (1215). It was on the same principle that the men of Moray, Lowlanders, as well as Highlanders, rallied to the standard of Prince Charles Edward in 1745. For my part, I cannot call these risings "rebellions": like old Maxwell of Summertrees in "Redgauntlet," I never could find out what for:

"It was a' for our richtfu' king,"

as the song has it.

If it was on the soil of Moray at Culloden that the Stuart cause was lost, it is equally true that it was among the people of Moray that the underlying doctrine was through six long centuries most constantly maintained. In each case, doubtless, other considerations came into play—in the earlier the natural, if mistaken, dislike of the Celtic parts in Scotland to the Anglicising of Canmore and St. Margaret: in the later, the love and veneration which the Stuarts did as a matter of fact inspire, which they inspire still in human hearted people, in spite of the continuance of that "fashion to defame and vilify them" of which Johnson complained in 1760; "happily," as he added, "there still remains among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right." And, as he said on another occasion (1777), "A right to a throne is like a right to anything else." In particular, the rising of 1745 holds high place among the romances of European history. It conquered its conquerors, filling King George III with admiration for the loyalty of its adherents, awakening George IV to some deeds of right royal generosity, winning the woman's heart of Queen Victoria. It sent Johnson on a pilgrimage to Skye. It emboldened Scott

¹ Benedictus Abbas, quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, p. 377. MacWilliam claimed as the grandson of King Duncan II (1094), the son of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife, Ingibjorg.

to enshrine its story in the fine gold of *Waverley*; and it evoked a tide of stirring and pathetic song such as surely was never laid at the feet of the most fortunate of earthly monarchs. Even in the dry domain of Constitutional Law, the principle of the ruler's hereditary right is by no means obsolete. Modified but by one condition, it abides, (what in Scotland it always was) the rule of succession to the British Throne, having reduced to the merest shadow the ancient English right of electing anyone within the circle of the Royal Family. Nor, finally, can we forget the heroic virtues to which, among some things that were sordid, the rising gave occasion—the bravery of all its supporters, the conscientious loyalty of many; the clemency of the Jacobite commanders, which stands out so fair over against the horrible brutality of Cumberland; the simple piety of Lord Pitsligo; the noble devotion of Flora MacDonald; the gallantry wherewith Prince Charlie threw himself (as Sir Walter Scott has it) “on the mercy” of the Scots; his patience under his privations; and the incorruptible Highland faith—on both sides—which screened him in his wanderings. I am not ashamed at all of what my dear Uncle James used to call my Jacobitical proclivities.

The defeat of Lulach by Malcolm Canmore (1058) must have greatly weakened the succeeding Mormaers. Malcolm's son, Alexander I (1106-1124) gave them a clear hint that he meant to be their overlord, by founding in the last year of his reign the territorial diocese of Moray, and thus replacing the old Celtic type of bishop—some monk or hermit consecrated to the episcopate, and “kept by the Abbot on the premises for the purpose of conferring holy orders”¹—by a prelate who was to rule and superintend as well as to ordain. This was a step important from every point of view; but it was not till after Dengus McBheath, the claimant to the throne, had been defeated and slain at Stracathro, in the sixteenth year of David I (1130) that Moray (“the spacious dukedom,” Odericus Vitalis calls it), became an integral part of the Scottish Realm; and even then, at the Battle of the Standard (1138) the Moray men (Moravienses) are distinguished from the Scots by whose side they fought.

David I is the greatest of our Scottish Kings, unless we except his descendant, King Robert Bruce, on the ground

¹ G. T. Stokes, *Celtic Church*, p. 104.

that, but for him and his long and patient fight against the Southron, there would have been an end of Scotland altogether. The youngest of the sons of Malcolm Canmore and S. Margaret, David was the likest to his mother of them all. Like her, he was first of all a Catholic Christian, conscious of his subjection to CHRIST his King, and of his charge to be a "nursing father" to the Church in his dominions, to see that its wants were supplied, that its ministers did their duty, and more especially to bring it into fuller fellowship and enjoyment of all that the rest of Western Christendom was gaining in an era remarkable for spiritual fervour. David, let us remember, was the contemporary and friend of the last great Irish Saint, S. Malachy, who healed (it was believed by miracle) his son Prince Henry at Carlisle and who was an intimate and correspondent of S. Bernard of Clairvaux, probably the most influential preacher of the love of JESUS that GOD ever gave to the Western Church. All sorts of religious movements were on foot—among them, the Second Crusade, the noblest in the series; and a great revival everywhere of Monastic discipline, including the widely influential Cistercian reform. No monarch in Europe, it is safe to say, was in fuller sympathy than David with all that was good in all these things. Not that he forgot his duty in things temporal. His own life was a pattern of moderation—"fed and clad with everyday thrift," says Fordun, but by no means averse to splendour in its proper place. He has also the special glory that with him Religion became the guide and handmaid of his rule, and that his reforms whether in Church or State were carried out with so much insight, tact and diligence as to command the confidence and love of his subjects, who awarded him a popular canonization. He saw very clearly what his new province needed both for time and for eternity. Its fertile plains, more suitable for tillage than for pasture, lay uncultivated. Its inhabitants, when not fighting, were sunk in "the indolent listlessness of pastoral work,"¹ varied only by the migratory habits of their predaceous chiefs. The Scoto-Celtic clergy, once so learned and so zealous, had fallen into ignorance, apathy and sloth, and were too much infected with the prejudices of their flocks to correct their faults. New blood was wanted, and not less a striking exhibition before men's eyes of the honourableness of manual labour, of the

¹ E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, I, p. 230.

more exalted self-denials of the Christian life, of a more glorious forth-setting of the beauty of God's house, and the more reverent ordering of His appointed worship. All these ends David considered might be met by the introduction into Moray—not of monks, to whom it owed the introduction of the Gospel—but of better orders of monks, disciplined and instructed in their function, and zealous in fulfilling it. He founded, accordingly, at Urquhart, five miles West of the Spey, a priory of Benedictines from his own great abbey at Dunfermline, and some thirteen miles further West, the magnificent Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss. So well did religion (in both senses of the word) flourish in the latter—and never more strikingly than amid the general corruption of the period just before the Reformation—that the level lands on which the Monastery stood (emphatically “the Laich” of Moray) were so well drained and cultivated by the white-robed votaries that it became one of the most productive bits of land in the country, while the Monks' orchard, planted by a skilled gardener from France, was so good that its trees were still “loaded with fruit” when an English traveller saw it in 1760. David was an old man when he founded Kinloss (1150), but he went down to Moray, and stayed there at Duffus Castle during that whole summer in order to superintend in person the erection of the abbey.

It is not germane to the purpose of this book that I should pursue further the history of the province, or tell how to its Mormaers succeeded Earls of Moray—Randolphs, Dunbars, Douglasses and Stuarts; how two of these became famous regents of the kingdom—Thomas Randolph, the nephew and right-hand man of Robert Bruce, who extended for him the bounds of the Earldom to the Western sea and gave him a jurisdiction at once illegal and short-lived over the Royal Burghs in the province; how James II after forfeiting the Douglas, wisely kept it in his own hands to augment the scanty income of the Crown; and how Queen Mary, with impulsive generosity, bestowed it on “her base brother” afterwards well known as “the Regent Murray,” whose descendants, through a daughter, still enjoy it.

I have, however, a personal reason¹ for mentioning the coming into Moray in the Fourteenth Century of a Berwick-

¹ [Namely, that to this origin Dr. Cooper traced a line in his maternal ancestry, through the Gordons and Stewarts of Birkenburn.—ED.]

shire family, the Gordons, whose head, Sir Adam of Gordon, threw in his lot with Robert Bruce just before Bannockburn and obtained from him (in reward for his service in bearing to Pope John XXII the famous letter of the Scottish barons) the forfeited lands of Strathbogie, lying indeed on the East side of the Spey but within the diocese of Moray and in part within the province. In 1445 Sir Adam's descendant on the female side was created Earl of Huntly; he exchanged his patronymic of Seton for his mother's name of Gordon, and became the ancestor of all the subsequent Earls and Marquises of Huntly, of five Dukes of Gordon, and (again through a female) of two Dukes of Richmond and Gordon. For long the Gordons had the "guiding o't" from Aberdeen to Inverness, and the head of their house was "Cock of the North." It was a perilous dignity, as the very first of them was soon to find. Sending a party of his followers in the Royal interest against Archibald, the last Douglas Earl of Moray, he suffered at his hands both "skaith and scorn":—

"Where are your men, my Gordon so gay?

In the bogs o' Dunkinty mowing the hay."

But the Douglas fell, and the Gordons rose, and the contemptuous districh fixed upon them the alliterative epithet which no subsequent calamity has been able to render inappropriate either to their race or to the famous regiment which arose under their auspices and rejoices to bear their name. Both are still "the gay Gordons"—despite the sorrow which has just inscribed on the War Memorial at the gates of Gordon Castle in a long list of lads from Fochabers the names of two Gordon Highlanders, sons of its noble owner.

III

I revert to a remoter past with the reflection that such a series of facts as that David's monastic foundations were both of them in the Eastern part of the province, that in the same quarter the territorial bishops chose their seat, and that in it also Malcolm IV placed (about 1161) the newcomers, to whom he gave the lands of the disaffected, had actually more to do with making me what I am, than any events in the long centuries that have since gone by!

For it was these events which led in the first instance to the creation, before 1259, of the separate Sheriffship of

Elgin, and the formation of the *County* which its natives have always called Morayshire but which, till 1920 was known only as Elginshire to the books of Parliament; and secondly, that while the Sherifffdom of Inverness remained wholly Celtic, and the town of Inverness the Capital of the Highlands, the gathering-place year by year "in weeds of peace" of chieftains whose very names are a high distinction—Seaforth, Lovat and Lochiel, Cluny and the Mackintosh, Macleod of Dunvegan, Macdonald of Armadale, and Grant of Grant—the *Shire of Moray* on the other hand became (its maritime plain in particular) *entirely Lowland*. It is some miles West of its Western border ere the Highlands begin. To be more exact, the Highland line in this quarter is Rose Street, Nairn—the fact on which the most amusing of our sovereigns, King James VI and I, rested his reply to some English courtiers who had rallied his good-natured Majesty—they would not have tried it with Queen Elizabeth—on the small size of the Scottish burghs:—"Haud your tongues, ye clavering eediots, there is a toun in my auld dominions where they speak ae language at ae end o't and anither at the tither." It is so still. No sooner is the line crossed than the difference is discernible, not in the scenery so much as in the people, their habits and opinions, largely, I suppose, in race also. I know that while my forbears have always lived in Morayshire or in the counties to the East of it, not one of them, man or woman, was a Highlander.

I am a Lowlander, every inch of me, though a Lowlander of Morayshire, its characteristics stamped deep upon me. First of all in my religious sympathies. The prominent place held from of old in the county by the Church, of whose activities it became in the Middle Ages the chief centre North of Aberdeen, made it inevitable that one, to whom, as to me, the vocation to the Sacred Ministry came in early boyhood should be powerfully affected by the influence which gave the district its chief distinction, and reared in my immediate neighbourhood for the glory of God, two sanctuaries, Elgin Cathedral and the Priory of Pluscarden, unsurpassed in their majestic loveliness, even by the far-famed Abbeys of the Border. Both, it is true, lie in ruins, but their desolation has by no means weakened their appeal; while the story of the Church in Morayshire after the Reformation, as before it, accords in several points with my mature convictions.

Again, with regard to my tastes in landscape, I have always loved the sylvan rather than the wild, and have deemed mountains less beautiful and less suggestive, when they press their ruggedness upon me than when at a respectful distance they stand guard round a smiling foreground, or enhance the feeling of space by rising not too high above the horizon. Such is their function in the scenery of Morayshire. Its plains, watered by gentle streams, are diversified by ridges and knolls of no great elevation, clad with oak and beech, or crowned with Scots firs whose lively health is witnessed by their tall columnar stems and their clean and ruddy bark. One such landscape, which for breadth, variety and colour may vie, I think, with any in Scotland, is commanded by the heights that shield Elgin from the North.¹ Beneath us lie thriving farms, reclaimed from the Loch of Spynie. Beyond, towards the East, are the lighthouse and sea-cliffs of Covesea, one of whose many caverns is painted with mysterious figures that might be worth comparing with those in Sweden now so eagerly discussed. Nearer, amid deep groves, stands the stately old house of Gordonstown, in which, or its predecessor, was born (1648) Robert Barclay, the Quaker apologist.

Local tradition has quite forgotten him; but of one of the lairds, Sir Robert Gordon (1647-1704) it still has tales to tell which might have inspired Sir Walter's account of Michael Scot. In real life Sir Robert was a man of science, an inventor of pumps for ships about which he corresponded with Pepys! King James II always interested in the Navy, took notice of him, and appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. The park of Gordonstown is, or rather was, adorned—like its royal contemporaries at Versailles and Hampton—with a canal “in the Dutch fashion.” On a knoll further to the West stands the shattered keep of Duffus Castle, which housed in its day visitors so far apart as David I in the Twelfth century, and Viscount Dundee in the Seventeenth. In the Thirteenth it was the stronghold of the greatest of all the Moray families—the de Moravias, now represented by the Duke of Sutherland; and it may have been the birthplace of two bishops of that family, Andrew, Bishop of Moray, the founder of Elgin Cathedral, and Saint Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, the civilizer of his diocese as well as the builder of its Cathedral

¹ My friend, Sheriff D. J. Mackenzie, has a charming poem on this landscape.

at Dornoch and the only one of our Scottish medieval prelates to attain the honour of a formal canonization. From the heads of that illustrious house, the Castle passed to a branch which retained the surname of Sutherland, and terminated in Claverhouse's host, James, Fourth Lord Duffus, whom we shall meet again as Jacobite provost of Elgin. To him succeeded its present owners, the Dunbars, baronets of Northfield. Their residence, Duffus House, is modern; its fruit garden justifies to-day the old encomium of George Buchanan: for its green figs, its pears of fine French varieties, its nectarines and peaches, grown in the open air, may rival those of Kent or Devonshire. The eye now turns to the more distant West, to the huge mass and tremendous ramparts of Ben Wyvis, and thence along the Northern shore of the Moray Firth to where the Sutors of Cromarty guard the entrance to their secluded haven. Next rise in three peaks the hills of Sutherland; and then, towering above lesser elevations, the lofty and symmetrical dome which Morayshire folk call the Pap of Caithness.¹ After it the land appears as if broken into islands, but it is still the Scottish mainland, for Eastern Caithness is flat and low like Buchan, its counterpart on the South side of the Firth. I recall how, twenty years after my habitual enjoyment of it, this glorious landscape rushed back upon me as I looked southward from the Acropolis of Athens on one that struck me as resembling it: the violet tinge of the Greek mountains seemed to me not more beautiful than the tender azures of my native land.

As in regard to scenery, so in regard to outdoor relaxations. For what is commonly called sport I have never cared. I have always preferred a walk or excursion in congenial company—judging these more conducive to the closer intimacies of friendship, as well as to the higher things of human life.

A gap occurs here in the MS. It has been necessary to supply a few words as a beginning to the opening sentence of what follows.

[The Cathedral of Elgin, whose builders had made] Lincoln its immediate model, [is] worthy to rank—not of course in point of size, but in point of originality of design, of purity,

¹ In Caithness, where another hill bears this name, it is called Morven,—"the big mountain."

of majesty, and fine workmanship,—with any of the other triumphs of that Thirteenth Century which has given us Westminster Abbey and the Cathedrals of Notre Dame and Salisbury. But it was not for the sake of Art that Elgin Cathedral was built; it was reared as we have heard, for the Glory of God, and for the amplification and more honourable and reverent fulfilment of His appointed worship; and the strongest admonition that its ruins read to me to-day is to my consciousness of how miserably our Reformed Church has failed in regard to Worship; which, after all, is what Our Saviour tells us that God desires of us:—*The Father seeketh such to WORSHIP HIM.*¹ Whatever else may be the duty of a Scottish Minister, he must aim at reviving the spirit of worship: this also, I may say without boasting, I have laboured through my whole ministry to do.

The work of building the Cathedral was pushed on with energy, and one can see in the difference between the simplicity of the South transept and the exquisite perfection of the Choir how rapid was the progress of architectural art and skill. The Choir was sufficiently advanced in 1242 to receive the body of Bishop Andrew who died in that year. His grave is marked by a large blue stone, the matrix at one time of a magnificent brass.

The folks of Elgin have always valued their Cathedral, and the mere fact of their loving it, has done, I am persuaded, not a little to preserve the culture of the city as well as the liberal and tolerant spirit which has continued to mark their ecclesiastical history. They accepted the Reformation: but no mob violence assailed their Minster. It was not they but the Privy Council who ordered in 1567 the selling of the leaden roof (of the steeples probably) for “the sustentation of men of war”; and two years later we find old Bishop Hepburn and the Canons—who had all conformed to the new order—offering to contribute for “mending, theiking and reparalling the Cathedral Kirk of Moray to the effect that the same may be a convenient place for the hearing of the Word of God”; and the Privy Council consider this “a lovalie work, tending to the common weal, the forth setting of God’s glory, and decoration of the country.”²

The Clergy and the people accepted without demur all the three Episcopates set up thereafter—(1) that of the

¹ S. John, iv, 23.

² Cramond.

Leith convention, approved by Knox, of 1572, (2) that unanimously voted by the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1610,¹ and (3) that which in 1662 followed the Restoration of the Monarchy. Nay they found all the Bishops set over them under each of these experiments to be good, prudent, and worthy men. The Presbytery of Elgin refused to send representatives to the tumultuous Assembly at Glasgow of 1638. They took the Covenants only when forced to do so. It was not the citizens but the Minister, Mr. Gilbert Ross, and the two "young" Covenanting Lairds of Brodie and Innes that in 1640 entered the Cathedral, and broke down "with axes and hammers the superb rood screen of timber," on the West side of which was painted in "excellent colours illuminated with stars of bright gold the crucifixing of Our Blessed Saviour," while "on the other side, the East, was drawn the Day of Judgment." "A great boldness" honest Spalding remarks "to destroy churches at this rate without warrant of the King"; and he indicates pretty plainly that the feeling of the common people was on his side.² It was a party of Cromwell's soldiers quartered in the city from 1650 till 1660 who "in their zeal against idolatry" amused themselves breaking the tracery "of the great West window." The Restoration paved the way for the reintroduction of prelacy, this time unfortunately without the sanction of a General Assembly, and in apparent contradiction of a Royal promise. In Moray, Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, Minister of Inverness, was consecrated Bishop, and acted also for a time as parson of the Parish, using S. Giles as his Cathedral Church. There was nothing in Morayshire of the outrageous treatment meted out to the obstinate Covenanters of the South-West; though from 1685 onward there were heavy fines laid on the Presbyterian gentry for not attending the ministrations "of the Episcopal Parish Ministers" and a few persons of meaner rank were imprisoned, but there was no execution: and in 1689 Claverhouse, so long the terror of the South West, appears as defender of Elgin against a raid of the Macdonalds of Keppoch!

At the Revolution five out of nine members of the Presbytery of Elgin were deprived as Non-jurors; and so unpopular

¹ See the Records of the General Assembly itself in the *Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*: Laing's Complete Edition.

² *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*.

were the changes alike in Church and State that it was seven years before a Presbyterian Clergy could be settled in the city: indeed the Church authorities had to send Mr. James Thomson from Colinton (Minister of Elgin 1696-1726), and Mr. Robert Langlands from the Barony of Glasgow (Minister of Elgin 1696-1697), to fill the Collegiate charge. They were both good men, and in spite of considerable opposition from the upper classes in the city they made their way to the hearts of the people, and ere long the Parish Church was filled under Presbyterian Ministers with a respectable congregation—people who thought it better to fall in with what was now clearly the desire of the vast majority of Scotsmen than to stand out for that Episcopal Form of Church Government, (there had been since 1661 very little difference in point of the Form of Public Worship) which had already missed three opportunities of commending itself to “the inclinations” of the Scottish people, and whose claims to an exclusive Divine Authority had not been maintained by many of the most learned of its own Ministers. After Culloden, people had little choice in the matter, if they wanted to go to church at all, for the ardent participation of the Non-jurant Episcopalians in the expedition of Prince Charles Edward had brought down upon them, by an Act of Parliament, promptly passed in the Summer Session of 1746, a series of Penal Laws, which in one section condemned such of their clergymen as should “exercise the function of a pastor or minister in any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, without taking all the oaths required by Law, and praying for His Majesty King George and the Royal Family by name,” to six months’ imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second to transportation for life to some of His Majesty’s plantations in America”; and in another section limited “a congregation of Episcopalians to five persons over and above the household where the Minister might be at the time.”

Cumberland had taken care, throughout his campaign in Scotland, to burn down most of their meeting houses.¹ It has been doubted whether the Act was really put in operation, but Mr. Young says it was “strictly enforced in the North, and for the time closed Episcopal meetings in Elgin as well as elsewhere.”

¹ See Ray of Whiteheven, *History of the Rebellion*, as to what was done at Aberdeen.

But the old leaven among the Northern clergy was by no means so easily got rid of. By law and custom University students from the Province of Moray were required to pursue their studies at either of the two Universities, King's College or Marischal College, which then worked side by side at Aberdeen; and a very competent authority, Mr. Ramsay, of Ochertyre¹ says expressly "of the clergy bred at Aberdeen" that "at this period they resembled in general the old Episcopal ones more than their brethren in the South and West of Scotland. This phenomenon in manners may easily be accounted for. The clergy before the Revolution are said to have differed less from the Presbyterians in point of doctrine than in manners and notions of ecclesiastical polity. But as the people of the country had a rooted aversion to the Covenanters, so they were never fond of their puritanical opinions and appearances, which before and after the Revolution had served to endear the greater part of the South country clergy to their flocks. The Presbyterian professors settled (at Aberdeen) after the Revolution, wearied of striving against the stream, were forced to yield in lesser things to the prevailing bent of the country, which is sometimes too powerful for its laws. Knowing the partiality of its inhabitants to a great proportion of their former parochial ministers, they contented themselves with instructing their students in essentials, leaving them to themselves in manner and behaviour. From every account that can be collected at this distance of time,² the ministers bred up by them were no losers by copying the ousted Episcopalians in their external appearance, as well as in their better qualities; for by the testimony of friends and foes, those of the North were men of sanctity and worth, faithful in the discharge of their duty, dignified and correct in their manners, having a nearer affinity to the disciples of the Forbeses³ than to those of Mr. Samuel Rutherford or Mr. Gilbert Rule."⁴

As a matter of fact, not a few of these excellent ministers were drawn not only from the same district and the same class but from the same families as their predecessors before

¹ *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 298, et seq.

² Written after 1795.

³ The great Aberdeen Divines under James VI and Charles I, Bishop Patrick Forbes, his son John Forbes of Corse, and Bishop William Forbes, of the *Considerationes Modestæ*.

⁴ Ramsay of Ochertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 298, 299.

the Revolution. Among my own kindred I can give two examples—a grandson of the Rev. Thomas Ray, Minister of Dundurcus, outed in 1694, and the only son of my great-great-grandfather, the Jacobite Laird of Oxhill. Neither of these, it is true, lived to become a Parish Minister: the latter died while yet a student of Divinity, and the former, after taking licence as a Presbyterian preacher, emigrated to America, and devoted himself to trading. But both were meant for the ministry of the Church of Scotland.

In all this I seem to see as in a mirror the portraiture of my own ecclesiastical principles, and the story of my ecclesiastical career. I was never opposed to such an Episcopacy as we had in Scotland, when the Bishops were subject in spiritual things to the General Assembly, and acted in their several dioceses in conjunction with our Scottish gradation of Church Courts. I should have accepted with John Knox and his fellow Reformers of the first generation—Erskine, Winram, and the earlier Spottiswood, the Episcopacy of the Leith Convention¹ and with the unanimous General Assembly of 1610, the platform put forth that year at Glasgow,² which gave us what in my opinion is the best period in the whole course of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland.

Puritan I never was; I think they deprived the Church's worship of that glory and beauty³ for which God provided at the erection of the Tabernacle, and which He has impressed on every whit of His great Temple of the Universe. I think their characteristic theology hard and inhumane: that, as Cowper says of them, they

“ Drew a rough picture of the Saviour's face

Without the smile, the sweetness, and the grace ”;

that they concentrated attention too much on the subjective peace of the saved rather than on the objective glory of the Saviour. I dislike the Puritan temper, in its bleaker aspects,—rigid, obstinate, censorious, self-righteous and rebellious. I can see little in its record of the meekness and gentleness of Christ, and I cannot but feel that they were by no means trustworthy as guardians of the Faith once for all delivered to the Saints.⁴ It was they who led the Arianising movement in England in the beginning of the eighteenth century;

¹ See the whole particulars in *The Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*—the official records of the General Assemblies, 1560-1610.

² I have given a full account of it from the Records in *Reunion, a Voice from Scotland*, London, 1918.

³ [Exodus xxviii, 2.]

⁴ S. Jude, v, 3.

it was mostly their congregations there that turned Unitarian, while it was from them, though by way of Ireland, that these deadly heresies invaded the West of Scotland, where, in what had been "of old the favourite seat of the more rigid Covenanters"¹ it took deep root, and grievously infected Robert Burns.² Probably no part of the Church ever received a more wonderful gift, and we did not know how to use him!

For myself, I confess that I should have gone heartily with the majority of the General Assembly at Perth in 1618, and voted in favour of the Five Articles:—(i) the religious observance of Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday; (ii) the administration of Baptism on occasions in private houses (often a necessity in our huge country parishes and our severe climate); (iii) Communion of the Sick in their homes; (iv) the Bishoping of Children³ (i.e., Confirmation); and (v) Kneeling at Holy Communion. I cannot call these things, as I see that Mr. W. L. Mathieson does⁴ "wretched trifles": I know too well through long pastoral experience, their great spiritual value; though I entirely agree with him in his condemnation of the policy of James VI and I, of worrying the ministers who conscientiously regarded every one of them as Popish. If the King had left the ministers alone, these things would have come in on their own merits, as all except the last have done in my own day. In like manner my knowledge of John Knox's Liturgy has long convinced me that even by the time of Charles I that book, with its violent language against the Church of Rome, was out of date, and I should have concurred in the opinion of the clergy that a new Prayer Book was needed. Archbishop Laud desired that the Church of Scotland should accept the English Book as it then stood; but the Scottish bishops, I think rightly, decided that the National Church of Scotland should have a Prayer Book on the lines of that of England, yet distinctively her own; and, after several attempts, they produced the Scottish

¹ Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, Vol. I, p. 282.

² The divine he most relied on was the Unitarian Dr. Taylor, of Norwich.

³ A public Admission of Young Communicants with the solemn blessing of the minister is now quite common in the Church of Scotland. See the Form of Service in [*Euchologion*], and for a defence of Confirmation by Presbyters, see *A Manual of Church Doctrine*, by the Rev. H. J. Wother- spoon and the Rev. J. M. Kirkpatrick, pp. 65-66.

⁴ *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, I, pp. 317, 319. Mr. Mathieson writes as a politician, I as a pastor and divine. [Mr. Mathieson's phrases are "These wretched Articles" and "the whole petty business."]

Prayer Book of 1637—Laud's Liturgy, so-called. As a matter of fact it was prepared by two Scottish bishops, Maxwell of Ross, and Wedderburn of Dunblane, and Laud had no more to do with it than that of giving it his general approval. It was my duty, and my rare good fortune, to edit it for the series of *Service Books in use in the Church of Scotland since the Reformation*, issued, on my motion, by the Church Service Society of the Church of Scotland.¹ It is really less liable to the charge of Popery than the English Book, and considerable pains were taken to render it acceptable to Scottish feeling. It would have been well if Laud's advice had been adopted in regard to the method of its introduction: he exhorted the Scottish bishops, "who know or ought to know the laws of their own country" to see that everything was done in legal fashion—which would have meant submitting the Book to the General Assembly, and probably also to the Scottish Parliament; but the bishops seem to have deemed it safer, and more expeditious, to have it put forth on the authority of the King, in his capacity as ruler of the Church "in externals." Never was a more ill-judged course adopted: it proved the ruin for the time alike of Episcopacy and of the Monarchy. It afforded an excuse for the resistance of the nobles, already angry with the King on account of his compelling them to disgorge enough of the teinds, "whilk are the patrimony of the Kirk," to provide a slender stipend for the parish ministers; and for the disaffected clergy to cry out of Popery and Erastianism; with the result that the nation was lashed into a fury of resentment; that the National Covenant was enforced upon the whole country; that the famous General Assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638 proceeded to "defy their King and depose their bishops"; that the seeds were sown of the Great Rebellion and of heinous regicide; that Presbyterianism was wantonly introduced into Ulster, and that the Church of Scotland learned from English Puritanism to "scruple" well nigh every Catholic practice she had hitherto retained, to disuse even the saying by the Minister of the Lord's Prayer in public worship as a "form";² finally, to see her General Assembly conducted to the foot of the gallows and there dismissed by the Commander of the "English sectarian Army"!

¹ Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1901 to 1905.

² See *Narrative of the Introducing of the Lord's Prayer into the Parish Church of Dumbarton*, Scottish Ecclesiological Society's Transactions.

Nor was I ever called to be a Covenanter. I could not have signed either the National Covenant of 1637, or the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. . . . I often wonder whether people who speak of the Covenant(er)s have ever taken the trouble to read them. Have they noticed the VIth promise of the Solemn League? "We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as shall be incendiaries malignants or evil instruments by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people or one Kingdom from another, or making any factions or parties amongst the people contrary to the League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and condign punishment" ¹ This was no mere threat; in fulfilment of it Lauderdale was sent up to London to insist on the execution of Archbishop Laud; while Scotland was disgraced by the judicial murders of the Laird of Haddo, the Marquis of Huntly and the Marquis of Montrose, by the shameful massacre of the camp followers after the Battle of Philiphaugh; and by the putting to death after they had received quarter of Sir Robert Spottiswood and [several others of noble and gentle birth]: ² I recall these things, and I cry with Jacob:—"Simeon and Levi are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitation. O my soul, come not thou into their secret: unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. Cursed by their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel." ³ It was just what happened in Scotland. It was not the introduction of Episcopacy that made either the earliest or the latest rent in our National [Zion]. Scotland was entirely Presbyterian in 1651, when the bitter schism broke out between the Resolutioneers and the Protesters, on the question whether King Charles II was to be allowed to take the Covenants or not; it was their strifes that rendered inevitable the re-introduction of Prelacy in 1661; and it was the notion which the Evangelical leaders of 1843 learned from McCrie, that led to the separation of 1843: Dr. Begg and the more constitutional members of the party advised them to remain in the established Church and carry on their agitation till they got the country on their side.

¹ See the whole text in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 569-574.

² [The added words are those of Principal Cunningham, *Hist.*, II, p. 55 (Second Edition).—ED. For names of those executed, see Mark Napier, *Life of Montrose*, II, pp. 588-598.] ³ Genesis xlix, 5-7.

I submit that I was justified in describing the Solemn League as I did in a sermon preached at Aberdeen on the Bicentenary of the Revolution of 1688 as a "dreadful compact,"¹ and in saying that the laying aside of the Covenants, which William III declared he could never sanction, was no small item of Scotland's gains from that memorable event.

It is impossible indeed not to feel sympathy with and admiration for "the puir hill-folk" of South-Western Scotland, who had been taught to revere the Covenants as the very commandment of God, when they in turn were required after the Restoration to abjure them; and their case was rendered the more piteous from the fact that the chief of their new persecutors, "the fierce Middleton, the crafty Lauderdale"² and Archbishop Sharp, had themselves been Covenanters, and had changed their politics less from principle than from interest.

[With passage of time] Revolution had made a more effectual end of the Covenants than of Episcopacy; ultra-Calvinism had gone quite out of fashion—I never heard it preached in Scotland in my life, in spite of the temporary and artificial revival just before the Disruption—and the introduction of the Paraphrases (1751 to 1781), soon supplied the Church of Scotland with a manual of praise, in which literary grace was combined with a beautiful reverence, an elevated strain of thought with orthodoxy of creed and a vein of warm piety. The late Dr. Sprott used to say that more people left the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century on account of the introduction of the Paraphrases than because of Patronage; and it is the fact that the first congregation of Presbyterian Dissenters gathered in the Burgh of Lanark was due to this cause; but it was quite the other way in the North-East: the Paraphrases were the delight of the people, and children were taught to say every one of them by heart. It was not all gain perhaps: we lost for one thing the magnificent cento of Psalm xxiv, 7-10, as our Introit when the Eucharistic elements were brought in, the thirty-fifth Paraphrase, fine in itself, displacing it almost entirely in the Parish Churches, though it was retained by the Seceders—for example at Moyness—till within living memory. It is now heard again at some of the better celebrations in the National Church. But any loss was richly compensated by the gains;

¹ I published the sermon as soon as I had delivered it.

² *Redgaunilet*, [Wandering Willie's Tale].

and it may be doubted whether the Church of Scotland ever gave to her people a boon so valuable as this short collection of sacred verse. Among other benefits it brought us were excellent hymns for the chief festivals of the Christian Year, "While Humble Shepherds," and "The Race that long in Darkness pined," for Christmas; "As when the Hebrew Prophet raised," "Behold the Saviour on the Cross," for Good Friday, [as well as] the elder William Robertson's¹ admirable metrical version of the Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah; "Father of Peace and God of Love," and Watt's "Blest morning whose first dawning rays," for Easter; and "Where high the Heavenly Temple stands" for Ascension Day; while the Baptismal Paraphrase, "When to the Sacred Font we came" enshrines a doctrine of the grace of baptism that was for the most part silent in England from the Revolution to the Oxford Movement.² And if the Confession of Faith is undoubtedly Calvinist, it is not more so than the Anti-Pelagian Councils, or than the teaching of many divines before, as well as after, the Reformation who are highly esteemed in England and in France; whilst its statements on the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and the Church Councils are, to say the least of them, quite up to the level of the Book of Common Prayer. Nowhere in Christendom is the LORD'S Supper approached with deeper reverence than in our Scottish parishes, or with a more certain hope of receiving Heavenly nourishment through the consecrated Gifts. In regard to the Holy Ministry, the Church of Scotland is quite as clear as the Church of England, that it comes from the Ascended CHRIST, and neither from nor through the people. "To this Catholic Visible Church CHRIST hath given the Ministry Oracles and Ordinances of God, for the in-gathering and perfecting of the Saints in this life; and doth by His Own Presence and SPIRIT make them effectual thereto."³ "She allows no power in the people to appoint or ordain Church Officers"; "Ordination is the work of the Presbytery, ministered by those preaching Presbyters to whom it doth belong" (i.e., to the exclusion of the lay-Elders, who sit in Presbytery for the fulfilment of other business). There

¹ He was the father of Principal Robertson, the historian of Charles V.

² Our more recent Scottish Hymnal, Scottish Mission Hymn Book, and the Church Hymnary, shew similar features: the last mentioned has the Apostles' Creed, which, along with the Nicene Creed had already obtained place—on my motion, seconded by the late Very Rev. Dr. J. Mitford Mitchell—in our Church of Scotland Anthem Book. All these books have been authorised by the General Assembly.

³ [Confession of Faith, xxv, iii: *Of the Church.*]

are, in point of fact, only two differences in regard to the Ministry between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England: (1) the former regarding bishop and presbyter as of the same order, differentiated rather by ecclesiastical custom than by Divine law; and (2) that the appointment of the Moderator, or president, of the Presbytery is for six months instead of for life!

No doubt the custom of the Universal Church for over fifteen hundred years ought to have counted with us, as S. Paul writes to the Corinthians, and we must bear the reproof of irregularity, though neither of error in the doctrine of the Ministry nor of the invalidity of our Orders; but something must be allowed for our special circumstances, and people can hardly be blamed if they felt that in such a posture of affairs unity was of more importance than technical correctness; that deference was due to the manifest desire of the great majority of their countrymen, and to a law of the land which could never have become law at all without the active concurrence and support of the Primate of all England (Archbishop Tenison) and indeed of all the English bishops generally. For myself, I own I have had difficulties on the subject, which at times have pressed upon me with some severity, but I have long been convinced that I was justified in remaining in the Church of my baptism, in taking orders in her, and even in promising "to concur with the presbyterian government thereof and never to endeavour the prejudice or subversion of the same."¹ Such an Episcopate as I desiderate would, in my opinion, be not the prejudice, but the crown and completion of our system, adding among other things, both dignity and power to her courts, giving what we sorely need, a continuous executive, supplying a more elastic system of ministration to the people, and providing in each Synod a living symbol and representative of the unity of our several congregations. From intrigue and unconstitutional action I am certainly debarred, but I do not despair of my fellow Churchmen coming in time to view things as I do; and I am profoundly convinced that without an acceptance of the Historical Episcopate that visible unity for which our Divine Master prays can never be achieved. His will, not ours, must give law to the whole Church. He that believeth, says the Prophet, shall not make haste. Faith can be patient, but patience is one thing, and the wanton or illiberal neglect of opportunities—such for exam-

¹ [Questions at Ordination; 1711, x, and subsequent Acts.]

ple as are held out to us by the Lambeth proposals of 1920—is quite another. Let us remember :

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of our life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

Meanwhile it is ill searching in this world for a perfect Church. Dryden has not convinced universal Christendom that his lovely vision of :

“ A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
Without unspotted, innocent within ”

is realized in the Church of Rome ; and no other part of the Church makes such pretensions. In these circumstances, then, I venture to think that a man is justified, if, out of piety to his own Spiritual Mother, he stays in the Church of his baptism (provided of course that it is sound in the fundamentals of the Faith) ; and if he does his best to improve it, and to teach it to recognise that it is not an independent whole, entitled to do as it pleases, but is at best only a part of the One Body, with the whole of which it ought to live in brotherly love, and mutual service to God and man.

As far as Scotland is concerned, our present negotiations for one small union with those nearest us in blood, in experience, and in feeling, our fellow-Scotsmen and fellow Presbyterians of the United Church of Scotland, cannot be effected without the Church of Scotland going to Parliament and asking for some modification of the Ecclesiastical conditions of the Revolution Settlement.¹ If we have agreed to go so far for a merely partial and local union, how much more should we be ready to ask the same sanction for a change which would benefit, instead of hurting, ourselves ; enable us to go hand in hand in the first place with our brethren of England in the work of the Lord Jesus, as we have done to the great advantage [*Cætera desunt*].

¹ See Articles [Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland].

APPENDIX

THE REV. DR. GEORGE GORDON, MINISTER OF BIRNIE

BY an unfortunate omission the name of this eminent man, who has been justly styled "the Father of Natural Science in the North of Scotland" and whose achievements in that field would have rendered him distinguished in any part of Britain, does not appear in the supplementary volumes (1901-1912) of the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and I am glad to have this opportunity of repairing the omission in grateful acknowledgment at once of the uniform kindness Dr. Gordon showed me, and of the debt I owe to him for much of the lore that lends value to this book. Born in 1801, he was the elder son of the Rev. William Gordon, A.M., Minister of Urquhart from 1769 till 1811. His mother, whom I distinctly remember as a very old lady (she died in 1864) was a daughter of the Rev. Joseph Paterson, Minister of Birnie. From Dr. Gordon himself, I had the following anecdotes of his father, who was the son of a tacksman at Laggan of Auchindoon, in the district of Dufftown. One day the tacksman was called to the door. His child followed him and to his amazement beheld on horseback a grisly figure, its face all hairy, and wrapped in a plaid stuck all over with bits of heather and bracken. "Father," cried the little boy, "is that a man or a beast?" It was no less a person than the redoubtable General Gordon of Glenbucket, who had fought for King James in 1715 and 1745-6. Escaping from Culloden he had sought refuge on his own ground, and was "lurking" in its woods when he saw his castle given to the flames. He was now making for Peterhead, where he caught a ship for Norway. Thence in mid-winter he crossed to Stockholm. He was well received at the Swedish Court and wrote to his friends in Scotland, "I hope we shall strike another blow for the Stuarts yet and more heads off or (ere) mine goes."

The boy studied for the Church, and after serving for some years at Glenlovat (?) was presented (1769) to the parish of Urquhart. "I thought," he said, "I would go and view the promised land"; so down he walked till from the hills to the south of Elgin the whole of the Morayshire plain from Speymouth to the Knock of Alves lay spread out before him. What a contrast to the pine forests of Strathspey! Except for a few sycamores beside the principal houses, not a tree was to be seen! The age of tree-planting in Scotland had scarce begun, and indeed it waited till Johnson's well-meant sarcasms, and Smollett's praise of its Midlothian pioneers combined to make it general.

The minister's sons began their education at the parish school under my grandfather, to whom George shewed his abiding regard by inviting him to preach at Birnie on the occasion of his [own] first appearance in Church as a bridegroom with his bride—their “Kirking,” as we call it in Scotland. It was a high compliment: my grandfather deemed it the greatest he had ever received. From his care the boys proceeded to the University of Aberdeen. Till about sixty years previously the students there had lived together in college, but this had been abolished as “monastic”! Scottish gentlefolks, however, could not as yet endure to have their sons, at the most impressionable time of life, living in lodgings with none to look after their manners, health and morals! In this abeyance of the residential system—still, alas! continued—there arose at Aberdeen a number of establishments in which youths preparing for the University, or in attendance at its classes, were boarded and tutored under a clergyman or school-master. To one of these, occupying a large building in the Shiprow, still known as “Provost Hadden's House” the young Gordons were sent, and so pleasant were George's memories of it, that, passing through Aberdeen when he was over eighty, and finding he had time between trains, he took his wife to see it:—“There, Anna, that is the house where I spent the happiest days of my life.”—“Say you so!” she answered. They had been married fifty-five years!

Graduating A.M., he entered the Divinity Hall for the four years' course which the Church of Scotland then required of all entrants to the Sacred Ministry. Of none of his professors in either faculty did I ever hear him speak, but he gave me his copy of the Psalms in Hebrew which was the text book in use. The title page is gone, but I fancy it is the edition issued by John Reid, the Cromwellian principal of King's College.

In 1825 he was licensed by the Presbytery of Elgin to “exercise his gifts within their bounds as a preacher of the Gospel.” “Then next thing to be done,” said the much esteemed minister of Elgin, Mr. William Gordon, “is that I take you to Gordon Castle, and present you to His Grace”—Alexander, IVth Duke of Gordon, the husband of the beautiful hoyden, Jane Maxwell of Monreith (1749-1812). Dr. Gordon handed on to me the story of their engagement. The Duke on his way to London rested himself and his horses at Edinburgh, and called on his man of business. “I have accepted an invitation for your Grace to a ball here to-morrow night,” said the lawyer. “But I have no suitable clothes with me,” replied the Duke. “I have thought of that: you will find at your lodgings a suit which I ordered for you.” “But, what is worse, I have no partner.” “That also I have arranged for.” The Duke agreed to stay; went to the ball; met Miss Maxwell, was captivated, proposed, and was accepted. Their marriage was of more than private im-

portance. The immense popularity of the lively Duchess proved of national service in the raising of the Gordon Highlanders. Her interest in literature, manifested in her polite attentions to Burns and to Beattie, found generous expression in the encouragement she afforded to obscurer authors and composers in the North ; it bore fruit in some of the best of our Scots music and some of the sweetest of our Scots songs, and diffused alike in the Highlands and the Lowlands on " The lang run o' Spey," a new sense of literary excellence ; while the sort of court which the Duke and she held at Gordon Castle, and their hospitality, freely extended to the society around them, bound it together under its natural leaders, evoked an intense love for the Ducal house, and spread throughout Morayshire an enduring tradition of courtesy and polish.

To return to Dr. Gordon. He had sufficient private means to dispense with taking a parish school, as most of his fellow licentiates were glad to do ; he remained at Elgin with his widowed mother, preaching occasionally—of course without fee—to oblige the neighbouring parish clergymen, and alternating his sacred studies with botanical researches so thorough as to enable him to draw up a Flora of Morayshire, the earliest, I believe, of any Scottish county to appear in print (1839).

At last, in 1832, Birnie became vacant, and he was presented to it by the Earl of Moray as patron. The living was small, and only by the aid of a grant from the Exchequer did it reach the total of £150, with manse and glebe, for its grain stipend, among the best in the Presbytery, had been commuted in the eighteenth century for a fixed sum, then thought handsome, but now by the altered value of money worth but a mere pittance. No increase was to be expected, for the people, even if they had learned to give, had little to bestow. The church door collections were for the poor of the parish or " the Schemes of the Church," among which that for the augmentation of the Smaller Livings had as yet no place. Dr. Gordon was happily in a position to accept it, and he never thought of or desired a change. The place suited him exactly. The claims of its small population, mostly agricultural, were not neglected, but they left him a large margin of time for scientific work, while its proximity to Elgin enabled him to keep in touch with the like-minded circle he was already gathering round him there. In its pretty manse, set snugly at the foot of the church-crowned knoll, in grounds which he beautified with rare shrubs and his favourite " fulgent " roses, Mrs. Gordon and he entertained the ever increasing stream of antiquaries, historians, and men of science who came to see him. His male friends from Elgin he used to ask to breakfast, whereby they were taught the pleasures of a morning walk, were regaled with the home-made delicacies of the old-fashioned Scottish breakfast, delighted with an hour's

conversation that never failed to be informative, while neither their day's work nor his was interfered with. Then the ancient Norman Kirk, with its still older Celtic bell, and out-side the church-yard gate a boulder incised with markings indisputably pagan, was itself an epitome of our religious history, and made him an archæologist as well as a geologist. He took a keen interest in the efforts of the Aberdeen (now the Scottish) Ecclesiological Society, and on the 26th September, 1892, when he was ninety-one, he honoured it with his company at its excursion to Pluscarden, joining us at breakfast in the Gordon Arms Hotel at Elgin, driving out with us the seven miles to the ruins of the Priory, pouring out information all the way, and, on our return to the town, jumping, I remember, from the back seat of a high dog-cart without touching the step. It was my last meeting with him. Years afterwards Professor Rait, visiting Birnie, enquired of the old Kirk-officer who opened the church door for him, if he remembered Dr. Gordon. "Dr. Gordon? He thoct mair o' that roun' airch than o' the gran new Kirk he nicht hae gotten!" "I agree with Dr. Gordon," replied the stranger, only to be dismissed with a contemptuous, "Ou! ye're ane o' that sort."

It must not be supposed, however, that Dr. Gordon was lax in the discharge of his ministerial duties—far from it. No sooner was he inducted to his cure than he braved the odium which awaits in Scotland every really valuable "innovation" in Divine service. Doing what many had advocated but few attempted, he restored the reading of the Holy Scripture at public worship, which, although enjoined in our Directory, had long fallen out of use. The people did not like it, and some of the ruder of them gathered behind him as he left the church, and said to each other in tones intended for his ear, "Lazy man! he just wanted to shorten his sermon." His reading of the Bible was itself an exposition, and his discourses on the rare occasions when he could be prevailed upon to preach at Elgin were utterances to be remembered. I recall, after more than thirty years, two in particular—one (from S. Luke v, 5) on the obedience of S. Peter at the first miraculous draught of fishes, when his faith in CHRIST overcame his long experience, and another on genuine honesty in regard to money, illustrated in Jacob's bidding his sons carry back to Egypt the money they had found in their sacks, because "peradventure it was an oversight." (Genesis xliii, 12.)

In the ecclesiastical conflicts preceding the Disruption, Dr. Gordon took a clear line from the first on the moderate side, and when the disastrous rent took place, he exerted himself at great labour to supply the pulpits left vacant by the ministers who "went out." In the Presbytery of Elgin and Synod of Moray, his opinion was much set by; in the General Assembly I do not think he ever spoke; but it was a relief to many of us

who supposed he had been passed over for the Moderatorship—(the secrets of the electoral body are not soon divulged)—to discover that, probably in 1875, it had been offered to him. In 1859, his Alma Mater conferred on him the well-merited degree of LL.D.

He retired from the active work of his parish in 1888, and died in the house bought for him by his son William, in Elgin ("Braebirnie") on the 12th of December, 1893.

[J. C.]

CHAPTER II

HOME LIFE

JAMES Cooper was born at Elgin on February 13th, 1846—the Eve, as he notes, of Saint Valentine, “whose festival was then more popular than that of any other saint in the Calendar.” His father, John Alexander Cooper, was a prosperous and very highly respected merchant in the High Street of Elgin. He again was the son of the Rev. James Cooper, M.A., Parish schoolmaster of Urquhart, born at Huntly, a small town in the West of Aberdeenshire, a graduate of Aberdeen and a Licentiate of the Church of Scotland. This grandfather matriculated at King’s College in 1790, standing first in the competition for Bursaries which tests the entrants of each year. Dr. Cooper writes of him :—“My grandfather during his course in Arts was a keen sympathiser with the earlier stages of the French Revolution and inclined to be Voltairean in his speech, but like many others the Reign of Terror was too much for him, and he became an orthodox Churchman and strong Tory, and entered the Divinity Hall to prepare for the Sacred Ministry. There were [then] few ‘assistantships’ (or curacies) in the North of Scotland: he followed the course at that time usual and accepted the charge of the parish school of Gartly, and afterwards of the more attractive and better paid school of the Parish of Urquhart, five miles from Elgin, where he remained with much respect till his death. He had already received license as a probationer of the Church of Scotland, and from 1816 to 1824 he gave assistance, in pulpit and out, to the Rev. Dr. Lewis Gordon,¹ one of the Ministers of Elgin, preaching on Sunday and walking the ten miles there and back.”

¹ One of the Gordons of Gordonstown; Moderator in the year of Waterloo. After his Moderatorship he created no small stir by attending all funerals in his parish, which it was not then usual to do. The Elgin people took this action to be symptomatic of mental decay.

At that time many of the parochial schoolmasters in the North-Eastern counties were licentiates, men of as good culture as the clergy and reckoned with them, permitted to conduct Divine Service though not to dispense Sacraments, and eligible for presentation to any vacant living. The emoluments of the Schoolmasterships in those counties were increased by grants from Bequests (the Milne and the Dick) ; many of them took boarders, and all of them, one may broadly say, were competent to prepare pupils for the Universities. There was no Matriculation examination, but there was the Bursary Competition, and at Aberdeen no one could hope to secure a place in the Bursary list without reaching what would anywhere be considered a high standard in Latin Composition. For these places the country schools competed with each other and with the famous Aberdeen Grammar School on equal terms and with frequent success. One thinks with wonder and admiration of the old parish schoolmasters as one knew them here and there in Scotland, but those of the North-Eastern counties were the acknowledged aristocracy of a most honourable profession. Through the influence of the Rev. William Leslie of St. Andrew's, Lhan-bryd ("a laird as well as a Minister,"¹ and a cadet of the Rothes family) with Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, a relative of Mr. Leslie, he was offered a Parish in Caithness of which Sir John was patron, and declined the presentation. "Mr. Cooper was too happy where he was, and he and his wife were anxious for the future of their family"—which may be taken to imply that he would have lost income by accepting the preferment. It was this Mr. Leslie, as Dr. Cooper used to tell, who gave to an applicant the following letter of recommendation :

"The bearer is the son of my old bellman, a man noted for his extreme poverty and excessive sloth. The son has inherited a full share of his father's poverty and a double portion of his indolence. He has not, however, been wholly unmindful of Scriptural precept, having contributed to replenish the earth, though he has done little to subdue the same. His cow having recently died, and that wretched animal which he called his horse having ceased 'to hear the oppressor's voice or dread the tyrant's rod,' the poor man has nothing to depend on for the support of his wife and family, save the skins of the defunct and the charity of an

¹He was proprietor of Balnagrith, and is said to have been "a man of great wit and wisdom."

enlightened public, which he hopes to be stimulated to a greater liberality by this from

“Theirs with respect,

“WM. LESLIE.”

The schoolmaster of Urquhart was himself the son of John Cooper and Catherine Ray, granddaughter of the deprived Minister of Dundurcus.

“The surname of Cooper is one of many which are taken from the occupation practised by the founder of the family—as Smith, Wright, Webster, Miller, Gardiner, etc., Medici, and Stewart itself; and my great-grandfather plied the trade designated by his name. In the Scotland of the earlier eighteenth century it was a trade of some importance and was lucrative, as every reader of *The Bride of Lammermuir* will remember. Earthenware was almost unknown; the people brewed their own beer, salted their own beef, and kept milk in wooden vessels. Porridge was eaten from wooden cups, whisky was drunk from wooden quaichs and ale from wooden cogs—a practice to which there is a reference in the humorous song of the district (attributed to the second Duke of Gordon):

‘Johnnie Smith has got a wife
Wha scrimps him o’ his cogie,
Upon my life, if she were mine,
I’d douk her in the Bogie.’”

Mr. Cooper married (2nd January, 1806) Ann, only daughter of Mr. John Reid, heir of the Twelfth Part of the lands of Urquhart, by his wife Jane Barron of Cowfords. Ann Reid was granddaughter of Anne Gaderar, wife of the said John Reid, herself the daughter of the Rev. Alexander Gaderar, Minister of Girvan (1655-1689) and portioner of Urquhart, brother of Bishop James Gaderar, “the hero of the family as a Confessor for Episcopacy and for King James in 1688.”

The Reids were keen Episcopalians and one of them at least had fought for “the Prince” at Culloden—the Red Coats searched the house at Urquhart for him and drove their bayonets into the bedding; his mother knew that the bed was empty, yet thought she saw her boy’s blood gush out “as they drew their cursed steel away.” So much, without detail of name or sequel, lived and was vivid in the family tradition and had no doubt its effect on the descendants, helping, for example, to account for the Jacobitism of the subject of this Memoir.

John Alexander Cooper (1814-1881) the Elgin merchant,



JOHN A. COOPER

was a man of fine presence and handsome figure, a good rider, devoted to outdoor life and a remarkably graceful dancer, the special darling of Anne Reid, his mother. His son remembered well how in the dotage of her last years she would recognise him as "her bonnie son," as distinguished from her auldest son James and her clever son Sandy. She was born an Episcopalian, but on her marriage to the schoolmaster of Urquhart had joined the Church of Scotland. She retained, however, her love for the Book of Common Prayer and indoctrinated her children with that affection, which John Cooper retained throughout life and communicated to his son James.

James, the oldest of her sons, became a doctor, and the clever Alexander a lawyer, both successful men in their professions. She regarded the calling of a "merchant shopman" as equally good and honourable with either law or medicine and, favourite as he was, she selected for him that. It meant for him a shortened schooling, but he continued his reading throughout his apprenticeship, making himself master of such writers as Pope, Fielding, and Paley, as well as of Scott and Byron.

Throwing himself with great ardour into his work, Mr. John Cooper soon became a partner, and on his senior removing to the suburbs of Elgin he took up house in the quarters vacated above the shop, and on the chief partner's death succeeded to the whole business, and was soon able to keep a riding horse, and presently was in a position to marry. It is noted by his son that on his homeward journeys from London, to which as well as to Manchester and the Yorkshire towns his affairs frequently took him, he would not fail to spend a Sunday in York for the sake of being present at the Minster Services. By common consent he deserved and earned the prosperity which enabled him not long after his marriage, to remove to a residence in the charming Western outskirt of Elgin, and in 1858 to give up his business in town and to enter on the tenancy of the important farm of Spynie, with its delightful residence in the grounds of the ruined palace of the Bishops of Moray.

Mrs. Cooper writes of him, that from his father her husband inherited many characteristics. "Both had the same sanguine temper, impetuous and enthusiastic. I have seen Mr. Cooper 'boil over' at any tale of meanness or unkindness or injustice. He was the soul of honour, chivalrous to women, unfailing in courtesy to all. Many a time when we

were walking in the country and I saw a branch or stone in the road, my husband would stop and lay it aside where it could do no harm, with the remark, 'My father always did that.' I used to think that, though his father was enormously proud of him, James must sometimes have been a disappointment to him, his tastes were so different. Mr. Cooper was a fearless horseman, a good shot, and a beautiful dancer. A drive with him was rather a fearful pleasure; he would have none but a high-stepping horse, and he drove like the wind." His son did not inherit this characteristic. As a child he had a somewhat severe fall in a boys' rough game, which gave him a definitive distaste for such exercises. He had no taste for sport in any form, and disliked physical exertion, outdoor or indoor, except in the form of walking; in which, given a suitable companion, he delighted. When bicycles came into use, he saw a prospect of extending his rambles beyond walking range, and endeavoured to acquire the art of riding these new machines, but failed to do so, owing to an unconquerable tendency to push with both feet at once:—his instructor, he explained, said that he did not co-ordinate his muscles.

Like other notable men Professor Cooper seems to have owed more of himself to his mother than to his worthy father. Mrs. John Cooper was a very charming and delightful person, a woman of much character and ability, one of those vigorous and witty ladies of whom Lord Cockburn tells us as adorning the society of his time, and positively the last of them whom I have myself known. She was Ann, eldest daughter of James Stephen, J.P., of Old Keith, by his second wife, Mary Stuart of Birkenburn, whom her grandson describes as "very beautiful, the toast of two counties; she retained to the age of 85 her lovely complexion, her deep blue eyes and extremely graceful carriage. In her day she had been *the* hostess of Keith." The Stuarts of Birkenburn descended from the marriage of the heiress of the line, Magdalen, daughter of the sixth Laird and of his wife Jean Duff, married some time in the latter part of the eighteenth century to the Rev. John Stuart, Minister of Lhanbryd and afterwards of Drumblade. In 1823 he received a call to be Minister of Elgin, but declined it on the ground of inexperience, and thereupon received the honour of being made a burgess of the city. The only son, also a John and called the eighth of Birkenburn (d. 1837), married Ann Stuart of Oxhill; she bore him Mary, who became the wife of James

Stephen and mother of Ann, who married John Alexander Cooper, the Elgin merchant, and so became mother of Professor James Cooper. These details are noted because Dr. Cooper himself attached importance to them. He was proud of his Gordon ancestry, and loved to trace through it to still remoter glories: the Gordons of Birkenburn could show their pedigree up to the first Earl of Huntly and Annabella his wife, daughter of James II. "A relative of the family who made out from the history of the house of Gordon the latter of these descents, showed it to a witty cousin, who remarked: 'There is no doubt that we are descended from royalty, but this family tree just shows how far we *have* descended.' Nevertheless I confess to being glad of it. It is no loss to a clergyman whose duties bring him into contact with people of all ranks that he should inherit alike the blood of the handicraftsman of Huntly along with a strain connecting him with the highest in the land. It has given me wider sympathies alike with the poor and with the rich, and has lent to my historical studies an element which has enabled me better to understand the romance and chivalry of my native country."

Mrs. John Cooper bore evident marks of her gentle blood. She was slight, even fragile, and always delicate, though she lived to be 97 years of age; of exquisite manners and great charm, ready wit and with an endless fund of anecdote and reminiscence and keen humour—a very lovable lady in her friendliness, quick sympathies and swift intelligence. "Gifted by nature," her son writes, "she was still more remarkable for her very retentive memory. Her first recollection of any public event was of the death of the Princess Charlotte . . . she was a referee on matters genealogical, and she remained throughout life a social force. On my father's death she carried on his farm of Spynie with success, until about 1889 some one was discovered selling her grain and carting it away at midnight. Then she came to me at Aberdeen, and entered with zest into the work and worship of my parish, and in 1898 she accompanied me to Glasgow, where though unable to return calls she soon gathered round her a large circle of friends. Every year I had my students to dinner and she presided at table, to their admiration and delight. In 1906, at the Ninth Jubilee of the University, she was hostess in my house to a large party which included Provost Mahaffy of Trinity College,

Dublin, Archbishop Bernard, Sir James Murray,¹ editor of *The English Dictionary*, Dr. Sprott and Professor Davidson of Aberdeen ; and so brilliant was her conversation that we continued sitting round the table till the maid called us to dress for dinner. The late Bishop Dowden held her in high veneration ; and to Dr. Theodore Marshall she was ‘ one of a great generation of women.’ ” The relation of mother and son was very beautiful. Dr. Cooper cherished her always with the tenderest reverence and admiring gratitude—he certainly owed to her most of what was distinctive and attractive in himself ; and she, gently fearless, never seemed to have entirely surrendered her right of maternal criticism, which when it was exercised was expressed in a pure and delightful Scots, the vernacular of the nursery for him, as in her youth it had been the vernacular of elegant society, not in Moray only²—Scots which seemed to me to be curiously free from the peculiarities of North-Eastern usage, and closely that of the more classic speech. I have heard from one who was present at a Sunday evening supper in Castle Street, Aberdeen—Dr. Cooper never supped without guests on Sunday evenings—a supper which on that occasion was unreasonably late, how in a pause in the conversation Mrs. Cooper’s voice was heard from her end of the table, “ What garred ye preach sae lang the nicht, James ? ” Her conscience-stricken son, aware of his habits, was silent. No one but she could venture without offence to animadvert on matters relating to his sacred office. Though indeed James Cooper was always a somewhat defenceless person ; ready in pleasant repartee and more than ready in illustration or instance of any matter in discussion, he had no swift retort to attack—his gentleness of nature forbade him to expect hostility, and his own justice of mind made the petty malevolences of debate incredible to him—they found him startled and sent him heart-searching for their justification—they wounded him, for he attributed to others his own sincerity, being indeed a very simple and sensitive man who had no store of bitter things prepared for his friends, or even for his opponents.

James Cooper was the younger of twin boys, the first grandchildren on either side of the family. “ Nor,” he

¹ Perhaps rather Sir John Marriot.

² In Edinburgh itself in the eighteenth century there were something like “ Study Circles ” for the acquisition of fluency in the English Dialect and of accuracy in its idiom. See Ramsay of Ochertyre, *Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century*, I, pp. 8-9.

writes, " was my Second Birth, ' of water and of the Spirit ' long delayed. My brother's health had been precarious from the first, and on the Sunday morning (February 15th) when my father's mother looked in as usual on her way to Church, he seemed so ill that the old lady determined to remain. Every moment the symptoms grew worse, and she bade my father go immediately to the Parish Church and get one of its two Ministers to come and baptise us. He went : Mr. Mackie was preaching elsewhere ; Mr. Wylie in the vestry had got on his gown and was waiting for the Church Officer to marshal him into the pulpit. At that moment entered Mr. James Jenkins, a probationer, English Master in the Academy. Mr. Wylie transferred the gown to his shoulders and accompanied my father across the street to my mother's bedside, where he ministered the Sacrament to my brother and to me, the former receiving my father's name of John, while I was called James, after both my grandfathers and two uncles. The witnesses were my two grandmothers and my aunt Magdalene, my mother's younger sister. Meanwhile in the Church there was consternation in two gentle bosoms : Mr. Wylie's wife could not imagine what had happened to her husband ; while Mr. Jenkins' was aware that he had no sermon in his pocket ; nor was either relieved till the First Prayer, which then occupied a full half hour, was ended, and Mr. Wylie arrived to carry on the Service. My brother died the next day in nonage, as his epitaph at Urquhart has it."

The first incident recorded in the life of the important " first grandson " is that he was carried as soon as might be to Keith to be shown to his mother's relations, where " in and about " Mrs. Stephen's house " there lingered the family nurse, ' Auld Leezie,' a daughter of that Ann Gordon who had attended my mother's great grandmother, Mrs. Stuart of Oxhill, when the laird was ' lurking ' after Cullo-den. ' What are you doing to the bairn ? ' asked my grandmother ; ' Just trying to see if he will grip siller '—which apparently he could not do, for the shilling rattled on the floor. Dear ' Auld Leezie,' she lived long enough for me to remember her in her grey duffle cloak, which reached to her heels and had a hood that covered her white ' mutch ' when she went out. She was a Roman Catholic, very devout ; most anxious that her young charges should repeat correctly the Lord's Prayer and the Creed ; careful also of their manners ; while such was her veneration for the

Birkenburn family that she trained them to speak of and to their maiden aunts as 'Miss Stuart,' 'Miss Ann,' 'Miss Catherine'—as of course we of the second generation followed them in doing. I was taken also, I believe, to be shown to an aged friend of my mother's, Mrs. Anderson, Fochabers (*née* a Macpherson of Dalraddy in Badenoch) who was then spending her last days with her niece, Mrs. Gordon, at the Manse of Speymouth; there in panelled rooms which had been the Duke of Cumberland's quarters on his way to Culloden I was laid in the arms of one whose mother had sheltered Prince Charles Edward and Cluny Macpherson in their wanderings, and had sat up all night to make underclothing for them." The presage of the dropped shilling proved accurate—Dr. Cooper never could 'haud siller' if there were any claimant on his generosity—I think that he kept himself stinted always by the number of his pensioners and by the frequency of his incidental charities.

There were visits too for sea bathing to Buckie, of which the population was almost entirely Romanist, and where the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Kyle, lived near at hand. Dr. Cooper remembered one of his flock, a keen and understanding lady—Miss Bennett, relative of a once famous New York journalist—who busied herself to erect a Roman Catholic Cathedral, and succeeded in building a Church with two Western towers. She asked a subscription from the Duke of Wellington and received the following reply: "Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington presents compliments to Miss Bennett and begs to inform her that he has no money to spare to build Roman Catholic Cathedrals." She got a shilling from everyone who wanted to see the letter and sold it at last for a considerable sum.

Mrs. James Cooper, his grandmother, came in 1839 to her daughter in Elgin, and with her her eldest daughter Mary, whom he calls "his first teacher." "No one," Mrs. Cooper writes, "can have been much in his company without hearing him quote 'My aunt, Miss Cooper.' She had shared her father's classical studies, was extremely well read and took the greatest interest in her nephews and nieces, James as the eldest coming in for a double share of attention. When he had a house of his own she was his first visitor, and he never went to Elgin without taking a present to her, and when she died in 1892 it was a great sorrow to him."

"My Aunt Mary inoculated me as soon as I could

toddle with her own love of flowers, which has been a joy to me through life ; while her teaching me the names and characteristics of many of her plants—she showed me, I remember, how to distinguish a carnation from a pink—was really an excellent beginning of my education, cultivating at once the eye, the memory and the judgment. Her flowers were of the old-fashioned herbaceous order ; and when, after a disastrous eclipse in favour of what was called ‘ribbon gardening,’ these resumed their rightful place in public estimation, I recognised among them many an old acquaintance, and gained an easy if short-lived reputation as an expert in regard to them.” This love for flowers was in fact almost a passion with James Cooper throughout. It appears continually in his own record of his student years. When at home in vacation, “worked in the garden,” “arranged the flowers for dinner,” are perhaps the most frequent entries. No one else might presume to interfere with his vases, and for the very frequent dinner parties at Spynie he would bestow endless trouble to find the flowers and greenery for a scheme of decoration. He even writes from Aberdeen to instruct his mother how the tiers of a centre piece are to be filled by her, as he cannot be there himself to see to it. In later life the wild flowers which he observes in travelling interest him almost as keenly as the Art Galleries or churches which he visits, and his correspondence is full of reference to the gardens of homes where he is a guest, and to gifts of flowers received from friends or sent to him. A favourite gift from him to a new church or to a student freshly inducted to an incumbency would be of jars for floral decoration of his church—a purpose for which he preferred faience to the hard brightness and glare of brass.

Another “abiding taste,” that for zoology, he used to trace to a gift of stuffed birds and so forth from Demerara, an unforgettable touchan with a tremendous bill and a beloved alligator in a bottle, which he received from an old Colonel Ray, his father’s cousin. To his affection for these relics and to a four volume edition of Buffon, which as soon as he could read he found absorbing, he owed, he says, rather than to any contemporary diligence a distinction afterwards gained in Professor Nicol’s class of Natural History at Aberdeen. And there was a Polish refugee “who called himself a count, and was certainly a gentleman” of the improbable name of Zlotkoski, well received in the exclusive circles of Elgin, fond of chess, and often a guest in his father’s

house, from whom he learnt to speak French, much to his later advantage.

He records the birth of a brother Alexander, of a sister Mary Ann, and again of another sister, Catherine Jane. "In the choice of all our names our parents followed what was then a rule with order-loving Scots people. To give a 'fancy name' seemed little short of an irreverence; while relations were by no means indifferent to the compliment of 'getting the child's name' and living grandmothers would certainly have felt hurt, had their late husbands not been remembered. It was in fact a way of remembering the dead, and was all the more thought of because of the disuse of any commemoration of the dead in the services of the National Church—a disuse in which the manifold bereavements of the late war has made it impossible to persevere."¹

"As soon almost as we could speak we were taught to repeat morning and evening the Lord's Prayer and some short devotion, and to get by heart certain of the metrical psalms (in the Scots version) and paraphrases."² All over Scotland the choice of the two to be first learned seems to have been the same—the Twenty-third Psalm and the Thirty-seventh Paraphrase, 'While humble shepherds watched their flocks.' No selection could have been better, but I suspect that the choice was dictated less by its fitness than by the fact that this, the present thirty-seventh, stood first in the earlier editions of the Paraphrases. My mother used to tell of discussion between my father and Mr. Wink³ as to what we ought to learn next, my father favouring Paraphrase sixteen, 'In life's gay morn,' and the clergyman with a finer perception commending the eighth Psalm. I learned both, understanding not a word of the paraphrase, but delighting in the psalm with its picture of the starlit sky. Nothing in the shape of verse came amiss to me.

¹ The rule was, and in many families still is, that the eldest son was named for the father's father, the second for the mother's; the first daughter for the mother's mother, the second daughter for the father's.

² The "Paraphrases" are a collection of Metrical renderings of passages of Holy Scripture, prepared between 1771 and 1778 by a committee of the General Assembly. They were at first much disliked by the more rigid, and the late Dr. Spratt used to say that prior to 1843 more people left the Established Church because of them than those who seceded because of patronage; but they have long since conquered universal regard among us. Like our psalms in metre they are bound up with our Bibles and one or more of them is usually sung on each occasion of Divine service.—(J. C.)

³ The Rev. John Wink, Minister of Knockando, a well read classic and theologian, married to Mr. John Alexander Cooper's sister. His eldest son John, Solicitor in Elgin, and Laird of Mayne, was Dr. Cooper's most intimate friend, "like a brother to me as long as he lived."

My Aunt Mary had cut out from *The Times* its review of the *Ingoldsby Legends*—the merry tale of the Monster Balloon ; she taught it me, and I used to be set on the table to recite it. I hope that I have some ‘music in myself,’ and I certainly love the ‘concord of sweet sounds’ in word, whether in prose or poetry ; but nature has totally denied me an ear for music, so much so that I have never been able to discern one tune from another, or even to see the connection between the fiddle and the dance.”

As to these disabilities in the sense of tone and rhythm it is impossible to contradict Dr. Cooper ; but it is difficult to reconcile them with the testimony of his student diaries to his love for dances and his frequent presence at them. He seems to have enjoyed them, and we must suppose that he danced, with the fiddles or in spite of them—or again to reconcile what he says with the interest in music which these diaries show, or with his apparently intelligent discrimination of good psalmody and of less good. His speaking voice, especially in reading, was singularly pleasant and subtly inflected ; and, while no one could fail to recognise his accent as of the North-East, it was entirely free from that acuteness of tone which is sometimes heard in counties which border on Moray. He invariably joined in hymn or chant—not singing perhaps, but in a soft and lowing manner, with sounds which had no discoverable relation to the tune, yet were not at all discordant with it. It seemed as if he had some instinct of harmony, but of melody very little consciousness. There is indeed a tradition that on one occasion, at an entertainment given to some of the young men—for whom indeed he would do most things—he sang a comic song. More probably he recited it ; in holiday time and among friends he could recite *The barrin’ o’ our door* with much effect.

After some usual preparation at a small Preparatory School, James Cooper passed into the regular curriculum of the local Grammar School, Elgin Academy. “Notwithstanding the designation imposed upon it by the taste—a matter in which Elgin was never behind—of 1799, this school is of ancient date, the lineal heir and representative of the schools taught by the Columbans, of those which, under the Lincoln Constitution adopted (c. 1215) by the first Cathedral of Moray, the Chancellor of the Chapter was to rule ; and more specifically of two : (1) the *schola generalis* which in 1489 the Chancellor aforesaid is directed by a

general convocation of the Canons 'to erect at the town of Elgin for the teaching of (Latin) grammar,' and of which the Parson of Kincardine-on-Spey was appointed Rector—a School which was preparing youths for the University of Paris before that of Aberdeen was founded, and in which after the Reformation the boys were able to produce a Comedy of Terence; and (2) of the Music School to which King James VI made over (1594) part of the possessions of the ancient Hospital of Maison-Dieu; the Master of which was in 1659 directed to teach the English language.¹ The foundation and the revenues were thus alike under ecclesiastical supervision, that of the Presbytery of Elgin, and so it remained until 1862." The disruption of the Church in 1843 led to an unhappy dispute and lawsuit between the Town Council of Elgin and the Presbytery as to the right of examination. This went on for years, piling up expense and augmenting bitterness, till in 1861 the question was decided in favour of the Presbytery—a delusive victory, for "it was in consequence of this decision that the Act 24 & 25 Vict. cap. 107 was passed, which entirely severed this class of schools from the Church."

"If however, from 1843, the Town Council set Free Church or Dissenting Ministers to examine the School, and only Free Churchmen need apply for its Masterships, to do them justice it had no thought or intention of lessening the religious observance—the daily opening prayers, the examining of the school by clergymen, or the amount and character of the religious education given; the teachers they chose were of the best, and the religious teaching given was at once full and in accordance with the desires of the parents. Of the pupils the large majority belonged to one or other of the various Presbyterian Communion—they were taught the Shorter Catechism. But there were also Episcopalians—they had to repeat the Church of England Catechism; and there were Roman Catholics (of Scottish birth) who learned a penny Catechism bearing the imprimatur of Archbishop Murray of Dublin, which declared (I do not think that my memory deceives me) that the infallibility of the Pope was a 'Protestant figment.' We were yet a good way off from 1870 and the Vatican Council. On none of the Catechisms did the teacher make any comment; such was not expected—we must have the words correctly; their meaning, so far as we could not take it in, we should under-

¹ At that time still to Scottish ears a foreign speech.

stand afterwards. It was not the way in which any one of these Catechisms was intended to be used ; they were all meant to be expounded and applied by the Pastor in Church on the Sunday afternoon—a practice to which we should all revert ; but I have found few things more valuable to me in my contendings for Catholic doctrine than the mastery of sundry definitions in the Shorter Catechism which I obtained thus early.

“ While this was done in school, the two Parish Ministers took care that the heads of families were not neglecting the duty of giving religious instruction to their households. Mr. Mackie followed the traditional custom of the Church, and used to announce from the pulpit, ‘ In the course of the week I will visit and catechise the families residing in, etc.’ We knew on which day to expect him. My brother and I were kept from school and the domestic servants were bidden to be in readiness. On the first of these visits which I remember, he asked me if I could repeat a psalm, whereupon I began the 137th, ‘ By Babel’s streams we sat and wept,’ which I had learnt for myself ; and I think that I see the amused surprise on his face and on my mother’s. Mr. Wylie took charge of the Sunday School and was one of the first to give each scholar a printed system of lessons for the year. Seeing the need of gathering the children of all classes, he persuaded my father to send us to it, though we were too small to learn anything.

“ I was fortunate in all my schoolmasters but above all in Mr. James Macdonald.¹ An admirable scholar, an excellent historian, an original investigator of the antiquities in which Morayshire is rich, he soon discovered the bent of my mind, and he took the greatest pains to develop such powers as I possessed ; to his example as well as to his instruction I owe more than I can tell. But I should be unjust to Mr. William Macdonald of the Mathematical School and to Mr. Gavin Hamilton who succeeded Mr. Morrison² did I not acknowledge my indebtedness to them. I have a perennial reason to revere Mr. Hamilton’s memory for choosing for me as prizes *The Temple*, by George Herbert and Father Prout’s *Reliques and Remains*. My school-days were a very happy time with me ; I was good at my lessons and warmly attached to friends. Elgin was a social and a hospitable place for young and old. In winter we had

¹ Afterwards Dr. James Macdonald of Glasgow Academy.

² Afterwards Dr. Morrison of Glasgow Academy.

our great annual function, the Academy Ball, a particularly good one, and a round of juvenile parties that we could count upon as on the course of the clock, while almost every Saturday saw a merry group of us out on some excursion or other 'ploy.'"

"When he was about eleven years old (Mrs. Cooper writes) he had a severe attack of typhoid fever, and when convalescent he went for some months to be under the care of his uncle, Dr. Cooper at Old Deer. He always said that he learned more during that visit than he could have done at school. His uncle, who was a shrewd as well as a very widely read man, took him with him on his rounds, and talked to him on all subjects. At this house he met the best society of the place, and in particular Dean Ranken, who took a great deal of notice of him. When there was no evening service in the Parish Church, it was the custom for Dr. Cooper's family to attend evensong in the little Episcopal Church. There he had the opportunity of becoming familiar with the beautiful Liturgy which was such a comfort to him during the last three months of his life, when he expected me to be ready to read the Morning Prayer to him as soon as the Church bells stopped. In the afternoon he had the Litany, and Evensong at the hour of public worship. He used to say, 'It is beautiful; everything in them that one wants.' When I went with him to Old Deer we used to go first to St. Drostan's Church and then to the Churchyard to stand a few minutes beside Dean Ranken's grave."

We do not hear of any public or circulating Library at Elgin, but the Cooper boys seem to have been given a fairly wide and sound selection for reading—Campbell's shorter poems, *The Lady of the Lake*, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* and *Retaliation* (all of which James memorised), and when he was ten years old *Ivanhoe*, "which I read seven or eight times on end," and by and by, *Don Quixote*, *Gulliver*, *The Travels of Mungo Park* and of Captain Basil Hall, *Percival Keane* and *Peter Simple*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—"which taught our Dissenters to tolerate novels."

"Our elders also were reading at the time some famous works. I remember *The Virginians* appearing in yellow-covered numbers, and hearing my mother and aunts discussing Miss Strickland's *Queens of Scotland*. 'What do you think of Margaret Tudor?' said my mother. 'A Henry VIII in petticoats,' replied Aunt Mary."



JAMES COOPER, AET. 9

From a daguerreotype

CHAPTER III

UNIVERSITY YEARS

IN 1863, being then seventeen years of age, James Cooper, after three or four months of special reading in Latin with Mr. Gavin Hamilton, matriculated in the University of Aberdeen. The age was unusually late for the period ; no explanation of that is given—it may have been delicacy of health, or it may be that his home and school life were too happy to be hastily ended. I imagine that at home he must have been reading omnivorously in very various directions and accumulating at least the foundation of that encyclopædic knowledge of art, literature, and history which the survivors of his fellow students incline to attribute to him even in his undergraduate days. As late as 1919 he writes of the death of an old friend, Miss Clementina Barclay, “she was one of the ladies that helped me to develop and enlarge my mind. She had real artistic taste, and she once lent me a book of Leonardo da Vinci’s, on perspective, I think ; it did not teach me to draw, but it brought a great mind before me and went to the preparation of my own mind for seeing Italy and especially its Art.” Those later home years at Elgin would certainly not be idle.

Of the four years of his undergraduate period, 1863-1867, nothing survives ; no letter and no diary. In the Bursary Competition, which then served some of the purposes of an entrance examination, he did not distinguish himself. The Class lists show that he stood well in Humanity and in Natural History, and at his graduation he took second-class honours in Classics. Professor Geddes, afterwards Principal, held at the time the chair of Greek, and Bain, with James Cooper’s sincere and unconcealed disapproval, that of Mental Philosophy : utilitarianism did not commend itself to him. A student of the same year¹ writes of his pallid cheeks and round shoulders and calls him “perhaps

¹ Charles Creighton, M.D., Boddington.

the least ruddy and robust of the hundred or more youths who assembled in the quadrangle of Marischal College." Latin was his strongest subject, and under present methods of study he might have probably shone in it, knowing and loving as he did its literature, but "the truth was," Dr. Creighton says, "that we were much too grammatical for his tastes and aptitudes; and as marks were most easily made for grammar and syntax he did not show to advantage. He was better read than most of us in the English poets, such as Pope and Dryden (who were his favourites), and in the contents of Lemprière. He had no great turn for Logic or Mathematics or Physics, and it was not until the Natural History class in the fourth year that he figured again in the prize list. However, at the end of the curriculum he was one of three or four in the whole Magstrand class of thirty-nine who sat for the honours examination, having read the prescribed books during the vacation, and he was given a Second Class."

Another of his contemporaries¹ speaks of his striking and interesting personality as immediately impressing his fellow students. "Of pale countenance and good bearing, he had, we noticed, a slight approach at that time to something like a stammer—it did not handicap him in the least, only making his being called up to translate for us the more interesting and likeable. And he was often called up—this student's way of translating was a good model readily at hand for the rest of us to follow; hence the frequent call, 'Jacobe Cooper.' He was good in Greek as well as in Latin . . . a good all-round student." And another:² "It is not easy to recall the fading memories, but one recollection of a general kind stands clearly out, that James Cooper in these early days was essentially what he continued to be to the end. The qualities and the ways that in after life endeared him to many were conspicuous in him then. His vivid and attractive personality and the gentleness and courtesy of his bearing and the singular elevation of his character gave him a place among his fellow students that was altogether his own. An interesting and stimulating converser, he delighted to discuss his favourite subjects. Even then he shewed himself possessed of a wealth of literary and historical lore that amazed his friends. . . . He loved all the things that were beautiful, and he had that venera-

¹ Rev. P. Thomson, D.D., of Dunning.

² Rev. P. Dunn, D.D., of Dalmeny.

tion for the antique and sympathy with the romantic that were familiar features in his later life. He was proud of our University and her traditions ; her distinguished teachers of former times and those of his own time he held in great veneration ; of one of these latter he was the revering disciple.¹ Even as a student he had arrived at convictions on theological questions which he never afterwards saw reason to depart from or to modify. The Sixties were dark and troubled days for faith, the currents of the new thought were hurrying strong ; Cooper, while by no means insensible to the movements of the time, never wavered in his adherence to those views of revealed truth to which he gave his lifelong allegiance, and with which he became so closely identified. His Hall sermons showed a close acquaintance with the theology of the creeds, and were prepared with much thought and care. They were faultlessly worded. His literary tastes and range of reading had given him the command of a singularly precise felicitous and graceful diction. About the use of terms he was indeed punctilious."

Dr. Gillan² writes:—"Our acquaintance dates from the later months of 1863, when Cooper entered Aberdeen University and I was in my second year. In those days, 'the Class,'—using the word in a perfectly harmless and no invidious sense—was a characteristic and very rigid feature of Aberdeen University. Each 'Class' formed what may be called a separate entity, and all entering with a view to a Degree attended the same classes and in the same order. A 'Class-fellow' therefore—in the Aberdeen sense—meant,—and to survivors still means—a great deal. We were necessarily much in contact with students of 'our own Class,' while of others we might see little. Cooper's 'Forebears' and my own on both sides had, however, been friends, and for this reason, we saw more of each other than we might otherwise have done. James was a good student, particularly in Classics, graduating in that department with Honours.

"Looking back on these long past days it is difficult to draw a comparison between the system prevalent in Scottish Universities—specially at Aberdeen,—then and now, and be fair to both. Certainly at first sight, present arrangements seem to have many advantages, and students have a

¹ The Very Rev. Wm. Milligan, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism, is intended.

² The Rev. James Gillan, D.D., sometime of S. Margaret's Parish Church, Edinburgh.

very much better time. The standard for entrance is higher, and the student should be able better to appreciate and profit by the teaching. In our day there was plenty of hard work, but the Course was dull and monotonous, with no choice of subjects. We had able Professors, who worked hard themselves, and sought to do well by those under their care, many of whom profited greatly, and took a good—some a distinguished—position in after life. It must be admitted, however, that there was the absence of what is now called culture, and no opportunity for acquiring it. Games, athletics, and other appliances—on which such stress is now laid—were almost unknown, and there was very little opportunity for social intercourse. To the average student, who was not in the language of the day ‘a Grinder,’ life in lodgings must have been dreary and uninteresting.

“From the somewhat depressing influence of a life with so many limitations, James Cooper was saved by his own happy and frank nature, and by the fact that, even thus early, he had read a great deal, and was possessed of interests of a kind to counteract the narrowing influence of some of our surroundings.

“Not being—as I have said—in the same Class with him, I saw James Cooper only incidentally during his Arts curriculum, but in the Divinity Hall, where for the most part we attended the same classes, he and I were thrown much together. That he was a very diligent student, loved and admired by his companions, can be readily imagined. But any outstanding incident, after the lapse of so many years, I cannot remember. Life at the ‘Hall’ was uneventful and unexciting, but we were all of us the best of friends, and amongst the students of that period were some who afterwards made a name for themselves.

“Aberdeen did not then boast of a ‘Teacher of Elocution,’ so we induced one to come from Edinburgh once a week. I have pleasant memories of these meetings, and remember taking part with Cooper in a scene from the *School for Scandal*, nor am I guilty of false modesty when I say that his part was much better done than mine.

“I fear these brief reminiscences are of meagre interest now, but what I wish to bring out and emphasize—and what anyone knowing James Cooper then and in later life would confirm—is that in his case there is striking illustration of the familiar saying, ‘the boy is father of the man.’ His views theological, and ecclesiastical—not to say poli-

tical—were the same as afterwards they were so well known to be. No doubt they developed and found fuller expression with maturity, but they were a part of the younger as of the older man. I remember hearing his mother apply to him an old saying, ‘ Jamie rides on the riggin’ o’ the Kirk.’

“ Reference to his mother recalls that lady, who lived to a great age, retaining to the last her mental faculties, and interest in people and things. It was a joy and privilege to know Mrs. Cooper and come in contact with her. No son could have shown greater devotion to a mother, and never were mother and son more to each other than she and James.

“ In the days to which I have been going back, James Cooper was like Doctor Cooper of later days in power to inspire attachment, the same in kindliness and unflinching courtesy, the same in varied knowledge ranging from abstruse points of Theology and minute matters of Church History, to more mundane subjects such as china and lace ; the same also in power to impart fresh and lively interest to any subject on which he conversed ; the same also—let me add—in his attitude towards those who differed from him, and in patience and forbearance with those who misunderstood or misrepresented his opinions.

“ I leave others to speak of Dr. Cooper as Minister in two important Charges and as Professor, but am pleased to recall my early association with one whom it was a pleasure and privilege to know, and whose memory I revere.”

Professor Wm. L. Davidson of Aberdeen writes :—“ Dr. Cooper belonged to the year before myself in Arts and in Divinity at the University, and during the Arts Course I knew him comparatively little, although we met in the vacations in Morayshire, where I used to stay on visit with my brother Charles, then Minister of Lhanbryd. I have a very happy recollection of visits to Spynie and of Dr. Cooper’s anxiety and care for the comfort of his guest. I can see him now, drawing the curtains of the large four-poster bed in which I slept, when he came to bid me goodnight. To my brother he was specially devoted and, after an interval of very many years, he recalled to my recollection, one time we met, that we happened to meet on the anniversary of his death. When I entered the Divinity Hall I found Cooper a leader of thought and opinion ; and the views that he then held were those that characterized his later life. Many of them were novel to his contemporaries, and,

while it was not to be expected that they would command universal, or even general, agreement, the force and attraction of his personality were such that opinions which if expressed by any one else, would have been unhesitatingly repudiated by many of his fellow students, were always received with respect and attention because they came from him. He had then, as later, the courage of his convictions, but the influence that he exerted was not solely the effect of courage, or even of his recognised scholarship ; it depended also upon the regard in which he was held, and upon the sympathy he showed, not indeed, towards opinions divergent from his own, but towards the men who held these opinions. He was the founder of a Reading Club that met to discuss the books of the day, each member being charged with the criticism of certain chapters of the book selected for discussion. I need not do more than refer to the inspiration that he received from Dr. Milligan—the teacher to whom, I think, he owed most.”

In the Autumn of 1867 James Cooper passed into the Divinity Hall, in the picturesque King's College in Old Aberdeen ; at that time separated from the *strepitum fumumque* of the town by a mile or two of quiet and wooded roadway. He had no question of his vocation—he seems always to have assumed it as certain ; in later life he writes frankly of that sense of vocation as an experience of his Elgin days, and as even then bound up with dreams of service which in part at least he lived to realise. This gave him one of his many reasons for loving Elgin, “ the city of my heart,” above all other places. “ There I learned to know HIM in Whom I have believed, to understand something at least of the glory of the Church which is HIS Body, to behold in every brightening hope the entrancing vision whose fulfilment HE has promised, ‘ One Flock, One Shepherd,’ and to yield myself under HIS leading to do my humble part towards that end for which HE tells us that HE prays, but which can be achieved only by the willing obedience of HIS people, ‘ that they all may be One, that the world may believe.’ ” The fundamental stratum of his character was neither ecclesiasticism, as some supposed, nor æstheticism, nor antiquarian sentiment, but a very deep and honest personal religion, a profound faith in our Lord, a conviction that what He willed could be accomplished, and that human welfare depended on its accomplishment—leading him to a quite simple devotion of himself to that end, with a quiet

confidence that for that end he would be used. His sense of vocation was not only to the sacred Ministry, but presented itself to his mind as vocation in the Ministry to realise the ideal of ministry, and to recall to the Church that ideal which seemed to him to have faded. He entered the Divinity Hall a young man of twenty-three, already, as everything shows and as his friends testify, very much the man he was in his incumbencies or in his University chair, with settled convictions and a clearly defined purpose; conscious of his gifts, though still uncertain of his ability to bring them into play. He already knew that the only way to get things done is to do them, and that to do things effectively one must have standing-ground, a certain prominence among one's fellows. If God meant him for the task to which he felt called, God would set him where it could be done. One cannot of course be certain at what stage these things became clear to him, but I believe that from early days he had his course mapped out, and that it had always included a professorship (so much he has himself told me) and, I think, the Chair of the General Assembly. Everything was to be a stepping-stone—not to his own eminence (I do not say that he was indifferent to that; he had great pleasure in the appreciation and good will of his fellows) but to the achievement of his darling ambition to be a reconciler of the severed constituents of the historical Scottish Church. It may seem too much to attribute such thoughts to a student of Divinity, but James Cooper was by no means an ordinary student of Divinity.

In the last year of his undergraduate course the Chair of the General Assembly had been filled by Dr. James Bisset of Bourtie, a man of very high character and attainments, and of the greatest influence in these North-Eastern counties whose Church tradition, less narrow and more Churchly than that of the South and West, he inherited and represented. In closing the Assembly, Dr. Bisset delivered an address of remarkable boldness, as boldness might then be estimated,¹ and comparable in effect to that of Dr. Milligan twenty years later. James Cooper always referred to this address as having influenced him profoundly and as having marked out for him the lines which he should resolve to follow. The address sounded a note of alarm and warning.

¹ It was in 1859 that Dr. Robert Lee was first charged with unlawful innovation, and in the year which followed Dr. Bisset's Moderatorship he was censured by his Presbytery and Synod for marrying a couple in Church. (D. N. B.)

The comparative independence of an established Clergy, Dr. Bisset thought, had one serious drawback, that it is apt to beget supineness and a want of zeal and earnestness in their calling. He speaks of "The Unification of the Church" as "that which should be a supreme object of longing supplication to every follower of Christ." Since the disruption of 1843, "that great schism," another defection had been in progress. A large proportion of the Scottish aristocracy, which had hitherto felt it a duty to worship along with the people, now that the people were so much divided felt at liberty to consult their own predilections and to join the Episcopal Church. The general effect of these "great schisms," Dr. Bisset sees as a change in national morals and manners, a declension in morals advancing with alarming strides, "so that from being the first and highest, we have fallen to be among the last and lowest of the Protestant states of Europe in respect of chaste conversation." Some see the cause in an altered Poor Law, or in the rise of wages and increasing luxury; he reminds the Assembly that "the Spirit of omniscience speaking in the Divine Word, which sees through the whole chain of dependencies and discerns events in their causes, consequents in antecedents, proclaims hatred to be murder because it leads to murder, and religious dissensions and party spirit to be among the works of the flesh, because from a thousand causes they lead to them. . . . Until a way be bridged for our return to Ecclesiastical unity from which we have departed . . . our discipline and supervision and correction of manners will continue to be so greatly impeded as to be *nominis umbra*." He asks who is to make the advance towards the reconciliation: "It is from my confidence in the strength of the National Church, and not from any feeling of insecurity, that I think the first overture ought to proceed from us." It may be that the storm of the Disruption is "not yet sufficiently assuaged to allow us much hope for a speedy reunion in one quarter," but there are others who have gone out, and they have their sympathisers, not on grounds of doctrine, but as dissatisfied with forms of worship. He recounts their grounds of complaint, and does not conceal his opinion that these are reasonable. "Their charge is that we have departed from the landmarks set up by all the greatest lights of the Reformed Faith and have fallen *in venam peioris avi*—an age of violence and rebellion and maddened passion, from which no good precedents or per-

manent examples can be safely taken. Their complaint is that our services are bald and cold ; that they are unfitted to wake and sustain the feelings and emotions which become worshippers ; that we come together as an audience to hear the lecturer or teacher, rather than to pour forth our confessions and desires and prayers for mercy and forgiveness through the blood of Christ ; that when prayer is made, it is rather that of the presiding Minister than of the assembled people ; that they are wholly at the discretion of one man, however mediocre may be his gifts ; that this is in no reasonable sense common prayer, for that they often toil after him in vain ; that through our present system they are made passive and silent rather than living worshippers, and are not called to confess within the Sanctuary the Lord Jesus with the mouth—though it be written ‘with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation’ ; that while we employ the divine songs of the Sweet Singer of Israel, the man after God’s own heart, in our service, we rob them of their fair proportions and mutilate the praises which his ardent and heaven-directed spirit believed most acceptable to God, inasmuch as to his own voice he is ever invoking the aid of harp or psaltery or stringed instrument, whereas we repudiate the rich addition of instrumental music, however solemn the instrument may be ; that the position which we take both in singing and in prayer is a manifest contradiction of what is seemly and proper ; for that to sit when sounding the praises of the Most High is to deprive the voice of half its power ; that to stand in prayer is contrary to the practice, whether of the ancient Church¹ or of the first ages of the Reformation, and is at variance with the natural dictates of a mind quickened by God’s Holy Spirit to profound veneration. The regulation of those different matters, if there be truth in ecclesiastic history was, at one period at least, left to congregations and their pastors and rulers ; and to them it is humbly submitted, the Church might commit such power with greater security than any other, inasmuch as, if any attempt were made to return to the process and usages of a better age against the mind of the major part of a congregation, or even to the offending of the honest prepossessions of any considerable portion of it, we have through the subordination of our judicatories ample means of granting redress.”

¹ In this, at least, Dr. Bisset is mistaken.

At the beginning of his address Dr. Bisset had referred to "Uniformity of Worship" as "sometimes enforced with a rigour which would preclude all aspirations after higher excellence, and which tends to produce everything but Christian unity"—in the interests of unity he now tells the Assembly that "in support of most of the changes for which a permissive grant is here solicited, they can quote the great names of Calvin and Knox," and that "to frown on such changes under the plea of a fabled uniformity" was to tell people who wished for them to seek them elsewhere. The general sense of the address was that need existed for a new departure in quest of reunion; that nothing could meantime be done to approach the Free Church: but that in the interests of religion and of the nation the Church of Scotland should look for reconciliation with separated Episcopalianism; and that in the first place, as the duty of making "first overtures" lay with the Church of Scotland, something might and should be done to "bridge a way" by relaxing uniformity of worship and permitting its improvement. One recognises in these suggestions at least coincidence with Cooper's starting point, and to that no doubt they helped him, and so far they explain the clearness and maturity of the view which even as a student he seems to have held.

The teaching staff of the Aberdeen Hall at that time could hardly be called strong. Dr. Trail occupied the chair of Systematic Theology, a learned and lovable man, a cadet of an old Orkney family, and one for whom Cooper had and constantly expresses regard and admiration, but perhaps scarcely an inspiring lecturer. Dr. Pirie, the professor of Church History, was an admirable debater, and in Church courts a leader of the popular party—but notwithstanding his honesty as a man, his views of history and of the Sacraments were not those of this particular student; while the liberalism of his Churchmanship irritated Cooper and made him impatient even of the good Doctor's sermons, to which in the College Chapel he was "much exposed." And there was a Professor of Hebrew, an old scholar, but not the cause of scholarship in others, distinguished by a brevity of lecture, which but for his demonstration of its possibility would have seemed incredible. For Cooper everything was redeemed, however, by the occupation of the Criticism Chair by Dr. William Milligan. In him he found a teacher and a man literally after his own heart, while in Cooper the teacher

had a pupil who became a dear and intimate friend. Cooper could never say enough of his debt to Milligan, though afterwards perhaps Milligan came to owe something to him; for in their later fellowship contact with Cooper's mind probably helped to clarify and develop his old professor's apprehension of Church doctrine. Milligan was a theologian rather than a critic, and in that he was the better fitted to influence Cooper and to help him to rationalise and arrange convictions which must have still needed intellectual justification.

One chief interest of the diaries which Cooper at this time began to keep is their testimony to the earnest and thoughtful, even devout, tone of the Aberdeen Hall at the period which they cover, at least in the group of students whom one meets in his closely written pages. There are hints here and there of less sympathetic elements; but Cooper's circle of friends was, relatively to the number of Divinity students, large, and must have dominated its atmosphere. Among his notes I find a list of "chief college friends"—it contains no fewer than twenty-eight names. Some of these, doubtless, shared only his Arts curriculum; for example, Charles Creighton, already referred to, and Alexander Shewan, I.C.S., the eminent Homeric scholar and authority. Among others are T. C. Macdonald (son of his old Master in Elgin Academy) whose early death was Cooper's first great sorrow; Alister Cameron, afterwards the greatly esteemed Minister of Sleat-in-Skye; Thomas Nicol, afterwards Minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, Professor of Biblical Criticism at Aberdeen and in 1914 Moderator of Assembly; James Gillan; Peter Dunn; Robert¹ and James Macpherson²; and James Brebner,³ a sufficiently distinguished group. They are constantly together, entertaining each other in their rooms (teas and suppers are frequent—the one as temperate as the other) endlessly discussing points of theology and religion, philosophy, literature and politics, visiting each other's homes in vacation, uniting in pathetic attempts to train themselves for the actual work of the Ministry—a training for which the Church made no provision whatever. Alone of their professors Dr. Milligan showed some consciousness of the need of such training and offered to conduct (out of class hours) practical exercises in homiletics and

¹ The Rev. Robert Macpherson, V.D., D.D., sometime of Elgin.

² The late Rev. James Macpherson, B.D., of Dingwall.

³ The Rev. James Brebner, D.D., of Forgue.

liturgics of a primitive sort—exercises of which James Cooper characteristically scrupled to take advantage, as being doubtful of the reverence of sermons and prayers which aimed only at practice of the arts of preaching and praying. There was a private interview with Dr. Milligan, and these scruples were removed. The Church of Scotland had been concerned as to this matter of the spiritual and practical training of her future Ministers for some time previously ; it began to be mooted just before the Disruption, and the Church is still occupied with it. Her system as it then stood was remarkable. Each Divinity Hall provided four Chairs—in effect lectureships, for their occupants confined themselves to lecturing and examining on lectures ; there was no tutorial or individual instruction of which I have heard. There were chairs (1) of Apologetic and Systematic Theology ; (2) of Ecclesiastical History ; (3) of Oriental languages, i.e., (in effect), of Hebrew ; and (4) of Biblical Criticism. Presbyteries were responsible for oversight of the Biblical and Confessional proficiency of students residing within their bounds—that is to say that there were eighty-four examining bodies for one or two hundred students. The professor of Systematic Theology at each University Seat was in some undefined sense responsible for the manners and morals of the men studying there, to the extent, at least, that they required his certificate at the end of their course. There were no entrance examinations and none at exit, unless such as Presbyteries were pleased to conduct. The parallel (not an exact parallel) might be if the qualifying classes in the Medical Faculty had been those of, say, Theory of Medicine, History of Medicine, Materia Medica, and Anatomy—only without dissecting room or laboratory or clinical Hospital work ; and as if, having listened to lectures on these four subjects for three sessions, students of medicine, having satisfied the local practitioners of any town and its neighbourhood, were free to practise. The sessions were of remarkable brevity. For his first enrolment in the Hall Cooper went up on December 5th, 1867, and finished classes for the season on March 29th, 1868. In that year, 1868, he went up on December 7th, and the session ended March 24th. There was no Christmas vacation ; except on Christmas Day itself, New Year's Day, and probably the first Monday of each month, work went on steadily. Dr. Milligan seems to have been unhappy over this shortness of opportunity, and at the close of Cooper's first session

he "called up" (saw privately) four of his students, Cooper one of them, "and told us that he had three objects at heart (1) to lengthen the Divinity Session (by an extra six weeks which would not be imperative); (2) to increase the intercourse between students and professors; (3) to increase the student life or intercourse among students. He said he could command about £50 for this purpose and would be glad if we could assist him with any suggestions on the subject. Of course we gladly entered into the proposal and promised to do what we could." In the next session we find Dr. Milligan's class (which Cooper had scrupled) in operation, and Cooper is himself the first called into action. "At 7 p.m. there was a very large attendance, but I felt very nervous:—the order was a psalm, a prayer, exercise (the address), a psalm and the prayer of benediction (the Grace). Dr. Milligan criticised my prayer very favourably, my discourse also favourably, though he took exception to some points in the arrangement, especially under the second head, and said he would himself have treated it differently;" which is probable. "I am sure that these meetings will do us all good, and it is not at all lay-preaching." In February, Dr. Milligan intimated that at the beginning of next Session, if he got six students, he would begin work in October or November—work independent of the Session's work." But when October (1869) has come, "Dr. Milligan fears his class before the Session will not work—so few coming up." In November, however, "Dr. Milligan's reading class" is repeatedly mentioned—studying, for example, "St. Chrysostom on the Priesthood—the interest of it increases with every chapter." The regular Session began on 13th of December. On the 15th he writes, "In the evening I was at Professor Milligan's class (ante-Sessional continued) but only Bob MacPherson and I met him—which is a shame when he takes so much trouble."

His old friend Dr. Dunn recalls that there was a time during his later activity when the idea existed that Dr. Cooper (as he was then) was not fully in sympathy with the Foreign Missions of the Church. A good many baseless things of that and of other sorts were said of him, but hardly any less justified. In later life one of his favourite schemes was for a Missionary Training Centre at Iona, which he desired in the interests both of Missions and of the Church at home. During his Arts Course Cooper had taken an active interest in the University Missionary Association.

The Minute Book shows him acting as a collector for it, advocating Sunday evening meetings of the Society and "giving a most interesting biographical essay on the religious aspects of Bishop Heber's life." On entering the Divinity Hall he was at once appointed its secretary and in his final year he was its president. This Society gave him one of the chief interests of these years. He enters on his Secretaryship, determined to "put some new life into it," and as far as one can judge succeeded in doing so. The present Secretary, Mr. M. M. Corner, who has been good enough to supply these details, writes that the striking thing to him is "the seriousness with which the students of those days conduct themselves," and one shares his impression. They have carried on a Sunday School in a poor district, and regretfully discontinued it for want of premises; they would attempt a Home Mission "by visitation and Sunday evening addresses in needy parts of the town," but fear that the law of the Church forbids it. They read to each other papers on such weighty subjects as the Moral Philosophy of Epicurus, or the Causes of the formation of what are described as the Distinct Reformed Churches. In 1870 Cooper's presidential address sketches "the State and prospects of the Church in her various branches," cautioning his hearers against the dangers of liberalism of thought and laying before them the need for Missionary enterprise. Also there are devotional sessions: "Saturday, 12th February, 1870: In the forenoon we had a quiet refreshing prayer-meeting at the Missionary Association." Dr. Dunn writes: "To have part with him in the work of the Association was esteemed a privilege and an inspiration. His spirituality, reverence and intensity of purpose created an atmosphere in the Meetings. The addresses which he delivered were models of their kind; they can now be looked back upon as preshadowing the fine and affecting address spoken by him to the group of Missionaries who stood around his chair in the year of his Moderatorship of the General Assembly." His diaries for these years are full of the business of the Society, correspondence with eminent persons, Dr. Boyd and Professor Flint of St. Andrews, "Mr. Lang of Glasgow" (afterwards Principal of Aberdeen), Dr. Watson, Dundee, and the like, whom he persuaded to preach to the Association; a public meeting arranged in the Great Hall of Marischal College, and an occasion when Norman Macleod himself is brought to Aberdeen. He dines with A.K.H.B. at

Dr. Milligan's: "Dr. Boyd praised the College Chapel, did *not* praise Dr. Pirie, agreed with Dr. Milligan in thinking a Liturgy desirable, strongly opposed lay preaching, but made an exception in favour of Miss Marsh." Dr. Norman Macleod he finds "in places" of his two hours' address "irresistibly amusing, and it had all sound homely eloquence."

Cooper loved Associations and the intercourse which they induced:—"December 15th, 1868. To-day I requested a meeting of the class for the formation of a Theological Students' Association, which is so much needed among us: Nicol and I were appointed to draw up a scheme of such a Society and its work." It begins regular meetings a month later with the study of *Ecce Homo*, and discussion of "some of the points of chief theological interest," and seems to have continued to meet at monthly intervals. "20th January, 1870: In the evening we had our first meeting of the Theological Society for this session. I proposed that we should read St. Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, but it was agreed that we should not read any book, but have essays and discussions on various subjects. To-night we had a discussion as to the effect the dogma of Infallibility (if carried) would have in the Church of Rome's relation to Protestants. I pointed out that it could not affect this, but would destroy the liberty of the Roman Bishops and clergy; the Church of Rome would still be as much as ever a branch of the Church Catholic." "February 23rd, 1870: The Theological Society meet at 5 p.m. We discussed the desirability of a Liturgy for Scotland, and seemed to think the only obstacle would be on the part of the people. But in this I don't believe." He has a more ambitious conception.—"Spynie, October 3rd, 1868: I wrote to Mr. Brebner,¹ Daviot, about a scheme which I have been cherishing for some time of getting up a Church Union Society among our Ministers and Students (in the first place: but of course I would have it extended to all Christians professing the Catholic Faith). Of course I know it will seem presumptuous in me, a mere student; but someone must move, and no other one that I know is doing so. I wrote a draft expressing the object and means of working for such a Society as I contemplate; which would (D.V.) I am sure be useful to this great end. I would propose among other things to get the last of Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* and Lightfoot's *Treatise on the Christian Ministry*

¹ His fellow student, afterwards Minister at Forge.

published with this view and circulated. The Nicene Creed with a few additions (on ' Inspiration ' and the ' Atonement ') to meet modern heresies, would be a sufficient doctrinal basis of union. I shall anxiously wait Mr. Brebner's answer, but (if it is unfavourable) I may change something ; but I will not be daunted in my plan." " October 5th, 1870 : I wrote out such an expansion of the Nicene Creed as would be almost necessary for any permanent doctrinal basis of union among orthodox Christians." Alas, it was not required—then :—" October 30th, 1870 : I had a long looked for letter from Brebner. . . . With regard to my proposals for a Church Union Society, he agrees with me in much, but thinks the time not fully come for it yet. This is a disappointment, but I must work silently and wait in prayer and hope." If this correspondent, probably the man of whose support he felt most sure, discouraged him, it doubtless seemed hopeless to go further in the scheme. But Cooper " was not daunted " ; he waited in prayer and hope, working by no means silently, and working not in vain. One is struck by the courage of this mere student of theology, and even so a student who had just ended the first year of theological study ; but even more by the prescient sagacity of his ideas ; on this subject Christian society to-day is very much where he was then.

We hear of him promoting one other society ; this time in his vacation : " ' Spynie,' Tuesday, 27th April, 1868 : John (Wink) and I went to call on Mr. Wm. Gall to speak about getting up a ' Young Men's Association ' in connection with our Church in Elgin. We must organise if we are to meet and beat the Dissenters. Mr. Gall agreed with us that such an Association was much needed, but advised that we should have all our plans ready and begin fairly in September. He promised the most zealous assistance." In the following vacation Cooper is still pushing this project and receiving promises of help, with what result does not appear. He had a lively faith in organisation of the kind, and when the Church of Scotland initiated its Young Men's Guild, it was his pride that the Guild of St. Nicholas (East Church, Aberdeen) was among the first to be enrolled as a Branch of it ; while in the matter of Women's Guilds he was the pioneer, in that at least anticipating Dr. Charteris.

These student diaries contain a good deal which shows Cooper's trend towards definitely Church doctrine, and also a certain moderation and balance of judgment in that rela-

tion which in after years was not less noticeable. He goes (1867) to hear the Bishop of Moray and Ross preach and read the Lambeth Pastoral; "It is full of pious exhortation to unity among Christians, and while it declares the Church's belief in the inspiration of Scripture and her protest against the encroachments and Mariolatry of the Church of Rome it urges on the Faithful the rejection of superstition and the clinging piously to all the canonical books as the most sure Word of God. I do not see how this letter merits the reproach of vagueness that has been thrown at it." He notes later "that it is an unfortunate Protestant tradition that *all* tradition is dangerous and bad—one of the legacies of evil we have derived from the corruptions of the Roman Church. But, Lord, enable me to keep tradition in its proper place as a humble handmaid to Thy Word revealed in Thy Scriptures." In a walk with his most intimate friend, Tom Macdonald, "We had an argument whether under the Gospel the word 'sacred' could be applied to anything in a sense in which it was not so appropriate when applied to everything. . . . I see in these things a twofold relation, one belonging to all things alike, another peculiar and therefore with peculiar duties." At Heidelberg we find him copying "part of Dr. Pusey's, etc., manifesto on the subject of the Real Presence; "except for a few things in No. 3 (which I don't strongly repudiate) I quite agree with the whole, and I think that it could be shewn that the Confession and Catechism of our own Church do so also, though they are certainly not conventionally held to do so." After his first Session: "I am meditating a treatise on the two Holy Sacraments, which shall be both expository and historical, and I intend at once to begin to collect materials; this will probably occupy me some years, but the general plan I have already conceived. I look on the Popish doctrines concerning both, not so much as heretical, but as the interpretation put upon Christ's words by an ignorant devotion, which could not understand them in their Spiritual depth, His Blessed Words, but understood and believed them in a broader, coarser sense. Zwinglianism I look on as quite heretical—perverting Christ's words, while the Church of Rome attaches to them a real meaning; her error being that she attaches a material meaning to what is spiritual. I am resolved to make this a special study, and I trust by God's help to be able to gain a clear insight into the subject for myself, to be able to communicate it to other

Christians, and perhaps to open up a path to reconciliation between different parts of the Church on this much contested point. For this end, Lord, give me Thy Blessing.—Amen.” The aspiration for unity seems already to be always dominant. He attends Holy Communion in the Episcopal Church and admires the Service, “but I like our own better.” On another occasion he is offended by the Clergyman’s High Church pedantries—“he wore a white stole.” As to Baptism, he is delighted that Dr. Trail in a sermon on our Lord’s interview with Nicodemus “distinctly recognised the Sacrament of Baptism in the birth of water”; but when a week or two later the preacher recurs to the same subject, “I am not at all satisfied with any of the explanations of Baptism which I have heard; one set seems to me to deny its sacramental character and others to contradict experience. I suspect that we misunderstand the High Church view, and that it, rightly understood, is the right one.” He has views upon the discipline of clerical celibacy which he explains in answer to the raillery of friends: “I told them that my views and prospects were so unsettled as yet that I could not think of engaging myself to anyone. I must keep myself free, if I am to be free to follow my own conscience. Besides, the prospects of the Church do not make it desirable that the young clergyman should be bound, even in holy matrimony.” On another subject: “Dr. Wylie gave us a capital sermon on Acts x, 33—on the Christian Ministry and how the ordinances of religion should be heard and received. He stated simply and well the true (confessional) doctrine of the Church of Scotland (though not the popular doctrine), on the subject of the holy Ministry—that they are the ordained successors of the Apostles in the work and government of the Church, and have grace promised them for this office, and for the faithful through them—in fact the doctrine of Apostolic succession, not limited to bishops. I do not see how a Gospel Ministry can be maintained (except on rationalistic principles) in any other way.” As for preaching, he praises a sermon as being evangelical “but not in the offensive sense of the word.” He was at that time suspicious of “Revivalism”—at a later period he availed himself of the “Mission Week” method. Of another sermon he says that “it was ‘magnificent,’ but excellent”—the magnificence being evidently no part of the excellence. Another sermon is “doctrinal (and orthodox) but rather flowery; theological sermons ought not to be so; there is

much danger of confusion, and a metaphor is always apt to be applied to those parts where it does not hold." "Dr. ——— preached a wonderfully dry sermon on 'the Mercy of God'; how is it that sermons are so dry? Have we lost the power of preaching? Or is it the fault of the hearer?" "I am convinced that if preachers are necessary (and they are) we must have ministers whose sole duty it is to preach." In fact "the Church of our day needs some new and better Franciscan order: the flesh must be mortified to produce it. But such an order must not interfere with but subserve the Divinely appointed Ministry." He lived to see the Salvation Army at work, and I think had considerable sympathy with its methods, if the Church could have utilised them. A Church Army I am sure that he would have approved. Always sensitive to the spiritual value of the Christian Year, he already observed it, so far as he might—its days rather than its seasons; he does not seem to refer to Advent or Lent for example except in dating his Sundays—reading the liturgical Scriptures and sometimes commenting on them. His "first Christmas from home" he attends Service in St. Andrews Episcopal Church (in those days he need not have gone to any Parish Church) "with thorough enjoyment." When Good Friday is reached, "I wish I could have gone to Church to-day. I would have gone to the Episcopal Chapel, but fear the tongues of Elgin gossips which have attacked me for something similar already. In default of this I went over the Service fully in my study in the morning. I wish our Church would observe these great days. It is almost senseless, by the perpetuation of what may have once been useful, but is now certainly unnecessary, that the Scottish Church should thus shut herself out from the Communion of feeling of the Catholic Church." An ungrammatical, but not an unreasonable statement. On Easter "I read some of the Easter Hymns in Trench's Latin collection: somehow I think I don't know any Easter Hymns at all worthy of the great occasion. How is this?" Two years later: "I spent much of the day (Easter) in the doctrinal exercises proper for it, yet with only occasionally getting that warmth of devotion that makes such exercises the greatest joy; however that is not the end of these exercises at present." At Heidelberg he was impressed: "The Protestant German Church considers Ascension Day one of the greatest festivals of the year: the town had a more than Sunday appearance. . . . And yet

the Church of Scotland would consider it half Popish to speak of reviving this most proper and Catholic custom : I hope I may live to see a different day." The next Christmas is spent as a guest with strangers, and there is no accessible service : " Of course for a real Christmas, home and Church are essential. Blessed Jesus, help me to feel that Thou art indeed a Human Saviour ; How much one needs Church Services to keep up devotion to its proper pitch ; I have felt oppressively worldly to-day, and the joyful sound this day proclaims did not cheer me as it ought."

One knows no more as regards these years of student life than their diaries reveal : these exhibit a deep strain of personal religion. They are not " spiritual diaries " in the usual sense of that term ; far from it, they are the record of a bright full active enjoyment of each day with its work and amusements and fellowships. Cooper was by no means at any time an ascetic, and was impatient of what he called puritanism. He loved society, not of young men only ; he enjoyed a good play ; he was at that time a devotee of whist and always liked a game of cards, knowing games such as Ombre and Piquet, of which few of us know more than the names, and while the most temperate of men, was capable of appreciating a vintage. It is told of him that in his class at Glasgow he warned his students against Manichean condemnations of the use of wine—it was God's good creature for man's enjoyment—" And besides, gentlemen, it's good."¹ Cooper emphatically believed that all such things could be enjoyed to the glory of God. The enjoyment of them certainly did not interrupt his habits of devotion or clash with his sense of communion with God. Most days' record ends with a note of the passage of Scripture which he read before retiring for the night—at first in the original Greek, but later in translation as purely for devotional ends, and often with some comment or suggested prayer, and nothing interrupted this : " 28th August, 1867 : The party was a very pleasant one, but too large, and the rooms so handsome that dancing was delightful. . . . Before going to bed, I read Matt. xviii, 23-35. I don't think that Alford's interpretation of this parable is quite consistent with Calvinistic orthodoxy " ; or again, " Sunday, August 25th, 1867 : To-day I felt a greater measure than almost ever

¹ This, I fear, was a plagiarism from a predecessor who objected to the use of peashooters in class as disrespectful ; " And besides, gentlemen, it's sair."

before the security of being in Christ ; but am still clogged by selfishness and worldly thoughts ” ; or a little later, “ St. Matt. xxii, 1-14 : The Wedding Garment—Lord, give me that Wedding Garment.” Towards the end of his Divinity Course he is uneasy at heart : “ December 5th, 1869 : At Chapel in the forenoon Dr. Milligan preached a very good sermon on St. John i, 26. There standeth One among you Whom ye know not. Yet I feel that I was one to-day who knew Him not, the flame of my religion is burning very low just now, and I am too nervous and excited about earthly things.” A week later, “ Sunday has come as a blessing to my brain no less than to my soul ; more perhaps, for I am not able to use it for the higher purpose. It is well to ‘ rest ’ at all in it however, though not the height I ought to have reached ; no, it is not well to call a stage, inferior to what I knew I ought to be on, at all satisfactory.”

The fact was that in that final session, which in any reasonable curriculum of preparation for the Ministry ought to be one of intensive and undistracted religious discipline, and must at the best be burdened enough with Degree, Scholarship, and Exit examinations, was in Cooper’s case occupied for the most part with a peculiarly bitter and protracted Rectorial election in which he was more or less the Tory leader. The candidates were Sir William Stirling Maxwell and Mr. Grant Duff.¹ Cooper was Chairman of the meeting which invited Sir William to stand, and much correspondence and so forth fell to be carried on by him. The contest seems to have excited interest beyond Aberdeen. There was a disputed vote, division in the Senate as to the disputed vote, threats of litigation, a tie of the Nations,² a casting vote by the Chancellor,³ hesitation and finally resignation on the part of Stirling Maxwell, for whom the Chancellor decided ; and then the question of a new Election and new Candidates, which carried the matter well into February. While all this lasted, Cooper was not merely, as he says, excited—he was agitated and distraught—there were heartsearchings, indignation, vehemence, shaken friendships ; one cannot wonder that “ the flame of religion burnt low,” and if in him, probably in others as well. No doubt

¹ Afterwards the Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, K.C.S.I., M.P. for the Elgin Burghs, 1857-81.

² Students at Aberdeen vote according to their place of origin in the “ Nation ” of Mar, Buchan, Angus or Moray. Cooper was procurator for Moray.

³ The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

such contests, if they are taken as seriously as Cooper took this, have their educational value ; where they become a mere "rag" they can scarcely be academically helpful. Occurring towards the close of a theological course they must be much less than helpful. The moral may be—and I think that it has occurred to others, as well as to myself—that the Church should postpone license for some months after class work and degree examinations are over, and should claim these months for the more definite spiritual culture, which, if she cannot communicate it to the entrants to her Ministry, she can hardly hope that they should be able to communicate to the flock. They ought at the end of this preparation to be, not only better informed, but more religious than at its beginning, more devout, of deeper conviction and surer consecration.

Cooper was in those days a very keen politician. He abhorred Liberalism in all its forms. As for the opposite party, he remarks that it would be too much to say that a Tory is in every case a Christian ; but evidently he could have good hope of such a man. He followed public events with much more intelligent interest than is natural to the undergraduate mind, and records his judgment on matters discussed in Parliament, such especially as touched on education or on the affairs of the Church. When he delivered his presidential address to the Missionary Association, he is himself (he says) somewhat alarmed at its defiant Toryism, "but I cannot but look on much of the Liberalism (ecclesiastical or political) of the day as Anti-Christian, and against that I wish to protest and fight. Oh, Lord, let me never fight against aught that is true." In later life he took no great part in politics. One could not be long or much in his company without discovering his Jacobitism, but I do not remember much in his conversation that would have revealed his party leanings ; it is improbable that these differed greatly from those of his school-days. Socialism, however, was new since that time and of that he disposed by brief reference to the Decalogue : "Thou shalt not steal."

Nothing has been said of these long vacations which Cooper spent with his family. He has left on record that he was happy in his life in each sphere as Heaven appointed it for him—at College, in his assistantships and incumbencies, and in his Chair, finding everywhere abounding friendship—but none of these can have been happier than his home life with his own people. At that time the home was no



Spynie Castle & Loch -

SPYNE CASTLE AND LOCH

From a Water Colour by Miss Elsie Mordaunt.

longer in Elgin. By 1858 Mr. John Cooper was able to give up his business there and to turn to the country pursuits which had always attracted him. He became tenant of Spynie Farm, about two miles from Elgin; the house attached to it is a charming residence of moderate but very sufficient size, with ground and gardens lying under the shadow of the massive Castle which was first the Bishop's Palace when Spynie was the Cathedral seat of the Bishops of Moray, and afterwards their country seat and stronghold, and is now, as such buildings reckon in Scotland, a grand and picturesque ruin. The acres of the farm enclose part of what was then, and indeed is still, a lovely tract of water, Spynie Loch, famous always, till Mr. Cooper began operations there, as a peculiar habitat of the wild swan. It was a wide and shallow loch, quite unlike the glacial excavations which occur in Highland Glens, the old estuary of the Lossie Water, covering without doubt many acres of flat mud which drainage might turn into excellent tilth. Mr. Cooper had visions of such a transformation, and set about cutting profound ditches and erecting dams and windmill pumps. The level of the Loch was certainly in the course of time reduced and something of its margin cleared of water; but the general result of the proceeding was unhappily to turn much of the Loch into a reedy swamp, grievously to lessen its beauty, to banish the wild swans, and to absorb the modest fortune which Mr. Cooper had brought from the Elgin business. James Cooper's personal diaries indicate his sense of the need of a new economy and some scruple over very moderate expenditure. At Spynie Farm, however, life went on merrily enough, and there is no apparent stint of hospitality. James Cooper's account of his vacations there is one of a moderate but fairly regular amount of reading, professional and miscellaneous, of entertaining and of being entertained, and of constant and lengthy visits to his relatives at Keith, Old Deer and Lossiemouth, and to the Manses of Alford and Forres. One gathers that he was everywhere a welcome guest: he was always the best of guests.

In after life he had somewhat markedly the manners of one who has been an only child. For a good part of his youth he was alone with his parents at Spynie. Both of his sisters had died in childhood, and his brother Alick had gone to India. James *was* the family at Spynie, and no doubt was made much of. One imagines that then as later

his mother regarded him and his ways with a certain amused sympathy, astonished but approving; and that his father approved as far as he understood. They naturally were of the same tradition and had no prejudice against their son's churchliness or romanticism. I do not think that, had they opposed, it would have made much difference.

His first vacation as a student of Divinity was spent at Heidelberg. One gathers that to send him there cost something of an effort—he refers repeatedly to the sacrifice made by his parents to obtain for him this advantage. In the thrifty fashion of the time he went by sea from Leith direct to Helvoetsluys, enduring experiences which he notes as “inexpressibly distressing”—he was a bad sailor at any time—and so by Rotterdam, where he is chiefly impressed by the flowers, “splendid tulips, hyacinths and narcissi,” and the magnolia, which is new to him, to Cologne, where the Cathedral “throws all I ever saw into the shade; its glories are really inexpressible” (an opinion which afterwards on wider experience he was to modify); nevertheless “with all its beauty, magnificence and impressiveness,” it wants “the somewhat stern depth of religious feeling which gives its grandeur to the plainer Elgin Cathedral”; whatever church Cooper saw, Elgin did always in something surpass it. In the cloisters of another church, “I saw at one end a Calvary, a horrid thing; but some people were fervently praying beside it, and if it is useful to them, its bad art shouldn't condemn it, any more than bad singing in our own churches should make us silent.” At Heidelberg, to tell truth, he is more tourist than student, and has more to say of excursions, sight-seeing, antiquities, galleries, the charming people whom he meets, the Irish Church Bill in Parliament, and the proceedings of Elgin Presbytery anent patronage, than of the University lectures. As he knew no German this is perhaps natural. He enrolls in Professor Hiltzig's class, but for the sake of learning that language rather than Hebrew—the first lecture which he attends has to do, he believes, with Oriental numbers. However, he arranges to study German with a Professor Hoffman, and when nothing more attractive interposes, he does so. Dr. Hoffman unfortunately speaks English; his boarders are English or American, and German study is limited to its proper hours. We have a specimen of Dr. Hoffman's English—“Dr. Stephens has come to stay here: he was telling Dr. Hoffman that wines are made chemically in America;

the professor said: 'I do not wonder dat you make dem—I wonder dat you drink dem.' "

There are visits to Spires and Worms, for which the diary breaks out into illustration with careful plans and even drawings, quite amateurish, but wonderfully accurate in effect. There were in those days no picture postcards. One cannot easily judge how much he owed to guide-books, but his accounts of buildings show even then a remarkable understanding of Church architecture, and a very sound judgment of the values of what he sees; and he brings to his study of pictures a historical knowledge already wide. In minor ecclesiology he has still much to learn—at Spires the Bishop wears in a general sense "a robe"—in days to come he would have had for it a more exact term. He is faithful in his attendance on "the Scotch Church," is particularly interested during the month of July, when Mr. Story¹ of Roseneath acts as Chaplain. He finds Mr. Story an admirable preacher, "but"—there is generally a "but" when the sermon is analyzed. Nevertheless he is very agreeable, and so are his ladies. The Heidelberg diaries end with a note to the effect that he has on the whole enjoyed his stay there very much: "The few disadvantages are amply outweighed. . . . It is too English a place to learn much German, but I think I have made a decent beginning in that too."

At the end of his third session in Divinity, Cooper would in normal course have submitted himself to his Presbytery for examination and license to preach the Gospel, and have passed at once into probation and service. There were, however, indications of some hesitation on his part. Three years before, shortly after his entering the Divinity Hall, he had formulated "Reasons for entering the Ministry of the Church of England in preference to that of the Church of Scotland," and their *per contra*; and though they are somewhat crudely phrased, they may be quoted as giving the opinions of a lad of twenty-one:—

"1. I look upon the Episcopal form of Church Government as at least as agreeable to Scripture as Presbyterianism, as more expedient, as more likely to be the primitive (so far as there was one at all), and also as more Catholic.

"2. I could not with a safe conscience swear that I would

¹ The Very Rev. Robert Herbert Story, D.D., Principal of Glasgow University. Moderator, 1894.

do all I could to keep up Presbyterianism and do nothing to get Episcopacy adopted.

"3. The Church of England seems to me to have great advantage over the Church of Scotland in the possession of a Liturgy, and in the forms for administering the Sacrament, etc.

"4. I think the Church of England has the advantage over the Church of Scotland in the more definite statement of certain Catholic doctrines such as Apostolic Succession and in the practice of certain Catholic rites such as Confirmation.

"5. I think the Church of Scotland is not right in not holding the great fasts and festivals of the Christian Year in accordance with Catholic custom and for the benefit of her members. Also that the general practice of the Scottish Church as regards frequency of Communion is to be condemned.

"6. That my love and sympathies are more with the History, etc., of the Anglican Church than with the Scottish Church.

"7. (erased) That I positively disapprove of certain practices (which are not conform even to the Church of Scotland's laws) which are carried on without let or hindrance."

Then follow: "Reasons for not leaving the Scottish Church":—

"1. The difference on all very important points of doctrine is nothing to speak of, if it exists at all.

"2. As regards frequency of Communion, Fasts and Festivals, etc., these might in time be adopted by the Scottish Church.

"3. I am a member of the Scottish Church already.

"4. Some of the practices I complain of are contrary to Church Law; and we find in England also that the Church Law is often broken with impunity.

"5. The Church of Scotland has been established in Divine Providence in Scotland, and I am a Scot.

"6. The doctrine of the Apostolical Succession may be held (in a modified form) in the Scottish Church."

In February, 1870: "the Principal asked me if I could recommend any gentlemanly young man to go as tutor to a clergyman's family in County Durham; the clergyman is rector of a large and wealthy parish, and would like someone who has thoughts of entering the Anglican Church.

I wrote home to see if my parents think I should go in for it ; I myself see some objections to it. The Principal did not ask if I would take it, but I think had my doing so not altogether out of his mind at the time. It would probably interfere with my taking license now, and that is a serious obstacle. At the same time it might be advantageous to me if I should decide on taking English orders, but I am scared from that by the present state of doctrine and discipline (so palpably bringing the Church to the verge of an eruption) in the Church of England. I am quite at a loss what to do, and unless some deciding motive comes into operation in my mind I shall decide by the recommendation I get from home." And in the next month : " To-day I delivered my last discourse to Dr. Trail, my ' Lecture ' ; he seemed pleased, especially with my defence of a regular Ministry. In the Vestry the conversation happened to turn on kindred subjects, and I told him I feared my sympathies would never be in harmony with those of the Presbyterian Ministers ; he seemed to be quite taken aback and exclaimed : ' I am no Zwinglian : I believe in a form of Apostolical Succession.' I had supposed he did, but Dr. Pirie does not, and the younger clergy are so often enthusiastical ' Liberals.' " Circumstances, however, allowed time for further consideration. Cooper had already weighed the advisability of applying for the place of Assistant Professor in Humanity at Aberdeen (which was afterwards offered to him and declined), and he learned that on license he was likely to be offered the Assistantship to the Minister of the East Church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen at an unusually high salary—a post for which he did not feel himself as yet prepared. Now there came the offer of a travelling tutorship, and that with some hesitation, due to his father's opposition, was accepted.

It is unnecessary to follow Cooper over the well-known ground of what would a generation earlier have been called the grand tour. He and his companion crossed France in August, 1870. Paris they found in " the utmost quiet ; people were shaking their heads as they read the news and no one had a smile on his face." Strasbourg and Metz were besieged, but they were able to proceed by Macon and Geneva for the usual Swiss round, and early in October by the Splügen to Verona, Padua and Venice—thence by Bologna and Florence to Rome and Naples ; returning by the Brenner, Munich and Dresden, and reaching home in April, 1871.

The Swiss diaries are of course occupied with scenery, wild flowers, a little geology and a good deal of interest in humanity as it is met with in hotels and railway carriages. Cooper was invariably delighted with his fellow creatures, made acquaintance with everyone and friendships with many, even in these casual contacts. He visits of course the greater Swiss churches, but his architectural criticisms do not always convince one, and he fails to appreciate the shadowy simplicity of the Burgundian Gothic, as at Lausanne. In Geneva it is the Greek Church which appeals to him : " No trumpery ornaments such as those which always in Roman Catholic Churches remind us that the modern Papists do not inherit the taste, if they inherit the doctrines " (he queries this) " of the great mediæval architects " ; these diaries would have edified Mr. Primmer (our Kensit) by the frequent severity of their quips at papistry. When he comes to Italy, however, he has the good taste to prefer the Cathedral of Como to that of Milan, which he finds disappointing, a church concealed by its own ornaments. " One cannot be sorry that the Italians did not build more Gothic Cathedrals, for this [i.e., Milan] is wanting alike in the pure beauty of their own style (as we saw it at Como) and in the deep religious solemnity of our Northern Minsters. . . . The interior of the Cathedral, however, is very different from the exterior, and I think much finer." At Milan he begins his study of Italian painting, visiting the Breia Gallery and the churches, and describing their treasures with an appreciation marvellous in one who had so far had but few opportunities of seeing paintings of any importance ; and this study seems to grow upon him as the next months are spent in Venice, Florence and Rome. For that winter he devotes himself largely to the galleries in these cities ; and where he describes visits to sacred buildings, their pictures come in for much more attention in proportion to their architectural or historical interest than one would expect. Florence especially is in that respect a revelation to him : " Altogether I have never had anything like the complete satisfaction from any famous place I have visited that I have had from the Gallery of the Pitti ; I wish I could go over it daily for weeks together to drink in its lessons of beauty and devotion." He fills pages with accounts of pictures, critical and appreciative as well as descriptive, and (knowing little enough of the subject myself) I am assured that his comments show, not only diligence of examination and actual labour to know

and understand, but good judgment and fresh taste. I confess to surprise in reading these lengthy and elaborate studies. Cooper never posed as expert in these matters. He knew, however, more than most people about so many things that it was not surprising to be surprised at his knowledge of the less obvious, and his oldest friends say that such knowledge was characteristic of him in those days too. It seemed possible that in these Italian diaries one had evidence of industry rather than virtuosity; he had, like other people his Bædeker; but examination of contemporary Bædekers establishes that the source was not in them—the matter is his own. Titian, Tintoretto, Raphael, Rubens, Luini, and so on—these are supreme with him; but he has much to say of less known men and schools. He does not discover the Primitives or even Botticelli or Giotto, nor does he seem much interested in Angelico; from which one is tempted to suppose that, as to the relative importance of painters, he was influenced by the conventional estimates then current, and was guided by what he had read beforehand as much as by what he saw. I can find in his writing no trace of Ruskin's influence as a critic of either painting or architecture, which is curious all the more as his own criticism often reminds one in principle of that of Ruskin.

Popery continues to offend him all these months: "O how I long for the day when St. Peter's shall be really Catholic; when a united and a reformed Church shall stand before the world as the Body of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless St. Peter's will never have served its purpose till it becomes thus the Cathedral of the whole Christian World." "I went to St. Peter's to pray that God would first purify and then strengthen and direct the Roman Church; that He would heal the sins and errors of all the Churches, and would unite them and would extend their saving influence, until His Kingdom shall come on earth. I was glad I went to St. Peter's to-day, for I saw what in my haste I had said was wanting there; some of the side Chapels were curtained off for preaching (I hope), Sunday Schools, etc. I saw several moveable pulpits in different parts of the edifice; several priests instructing classes of little boys, and one priest sitting at a table with an open book before him, apparently earnest in expounding to an attentive circle of old men and women. . . . The state of the Italian people is surely very sad; in spite of what I saw to-day, I feel convinced that the Church is all but hopelessly corrupt, and no alternative is

visible to the people—none certainly is actual—but an infidelity of the most material, sensual, unreasoning Epicurean cast. The conservatism of the country is welded to the one, the liberalism with the other. It was under such crushing thoughts that I went to that wide Cathedral and there in the solitude which one can always secure in such places (one of their great advantages), knelt down to pray that God would arise to His own battle, and when I came out and read the grand inscription on the Obelisk : ‘ *Ecce Crucem Domini : fugite, adversæ partes : vicit Leo de Tribu Juda,*’ I believed and took courage—God’s faith has not yet perished from among men, and Christ’s saving power remains. In the afternoon I went to the American Church—no services.” He meets Pio Nono in the Loggia of the Vatican : “ He hung his head and walked in silence between two Monsignori . . . poor man, poor Pope, the Vatican and all its glories cannot preserve peace and joy.” He finds the Museum at Naples shut, it being the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin : “ I entered several of the churches and found nearly all gaily decorated with ornaments of tinsel, symbolising perhaps the sentiment that Mariolatry substitutes for religion.” At Monte Cassino he is charmed with everything except the temperature of the bedrooms, “ cold as the grave.” “ I wandered about and examined the various beauties of the edifice (the church) and then, kneeling down in a quiet corner, offered up a fervent prayer that from this holy house might go out faithful ministers of the Gospel for the edification and purification of the Church.” “ We visited the Holy Stair . . . an inscription offers nine years’ indulgence and advantage to souls in purgatory to all who shall in a penitent frame of mind and thinking of Christ’s Passion ascend the stairs on their knees. At the top of the stair is the text : ‘ He was wounded for our offences ; He was bruised for our iniquities ’—a text that surely renders such works as the ascent of the stair useless.” Cooper never changed in respect of these feelings—he was always anti-papalist ; reasonably aware of all that is venerable and excellent in the unreformed section of the Western Church, and convincingly opposed to its unscriptural developments and uncatholic assertions in doctrine and practice. As far as I have seen he had reached, fifty years before other folks, the position which most people now seem in numberless conferences to occupy, desiring a reunited Christendom into which the ancient and historical Churches should bring their

glories, and the more modern whatever they emphasise of piety or truth—recognising always that meantime, and till it has changed in much, Rome is intransigible and the thought of its inclusion in such intercommunion hopeless—“for, you know,” he once concisely and definitively said to me, “they tell lies.” So unfortunately do some other people—it was at one time, I believe, freely whispered that Cooper had been “privately” ordained by a Roman prelate. He was also in 1868 informed by a letter from an Elgin friend that there he was spoken of as about to be received into the Free Church. Neither of these rumours were true. Cooper’s attitude in fact was one of criticism all round.—“Epiphany, 1871: In the morning I went to the old English Church. It is very nicely fitted up, but the clergy are of the weakest school of Ritualists. There was nothing particularly objectionable in the Service to-day, but it was not well read, and there was no sermon.” On the same day: “The Service of the (Franciscan) Church of S. Maria in Ara Coeli was . . . unworthy of those who have the Gospel of St. John, unworthy even of reasonable beings. The absurd Bambino was carried in procession round the Church. There was an immense concourse of poor people, and the reverence shewn to the image was surely idolatrous—not only sinful in the ignorant poor, but above all in the authorities that permit or encourage it.”

On the way home, however, he is himself involved in a complex of irregularities: “Fourth Sunday after Epiphany: I went to the Scottish Church, where we had a long but excellent sermon from Mr. Macdougall on the intermediate happiness of the faithful dead. . . . In the afternoon I preached myself—I own it was an irregularity and one that I was most unwilling to commit, but Mr. Macdougall had a cold that really made two sermons too much for him, and would scarce have justified his preaching twice. So, in the circumstances in which he is, and I am—all but formally licensed (the Synod having given its consent and the examinations being past)—I could not refuse his pressing request. So he opened the Service and prayed, and I read, preached and gave a short concluding prayer. . . . It is strange that my first practice should be in the irregular mode I have so often condemned (and as a general thing still condemn) and in a Free Church, in connection too with an Italian Mission which I dislike. Lord, pardon what sin I have herein committed. I thought too much of myself, too little

of my Message. Lord, pardon me this great sin! This I do not consider my first Sermon—it is only an irregular practice.”

At Dresden he hears from home that one of his classmates has been presented to a charming living: “I must confess that my first feeling when I heard it was a revelation to me of much evil within me: I grudged that my old ‘echo’ should thus have got before me, perhaps it is a remnant of this that makes the thought always come up to me that he has accepted a parish too soon. But really I am glad that he has got it.” On Palm Sunday there he is present at a Lutheran Confirmation: “I got beside a very pious and intelligent woman who gave me her book and spoke pleasantly and well, explaining all the Service. First there was an admirable address . . . then the Creed, the formula of the Lutheran Church respecting justification by faith, etc., were read and the children answered ‘Ja.’ Then they went up to the Altar and knelt, while the Ministers, speaking over each set some suitable text, laid hands on them. Then followed Holy Communion—partaken of by parents as well as by children. Surely a beautiful and most instructive rite! I never felt how much we lost, when we gave up the practice, till now. It is profitable alike for old and young.” At Cologne he is surprised and disturbed to find that the Cathedral no longer impresses him as it did formerly—he is not sure whether this is due to his study of Italian Churches or because of his own diminished impressibility: “Have I lost reverence and devotion?” He might have found the explanation in an improvement of his taste.

In passing through London Cooper was fortunate enough to hear on the same day Vaughan, Liddon and Magee. He found Vaughan’s manner “old maidish and deficient in the earnestness which is the great merit of his writings. . . . The sermon was directed against the recent follies of ultra-ritualism.” He would perhaps have read very well, but attempting too much fell into vagueness. Liddon preached for an hour and a half, “but though his sermon was closely argued, it seemed to me like four minutes. Except from Bishop Wilberforce I have never heard such eloquence. . . . He read his sermon, which was almost entirely argumentative and therefore very practical.” In the evening, Magee: “This sermon was also about an hour and a half long: it was an oration such as Cicero or Demosthenes might have spoken—powerful, clear, weighty, terrible. The orator is

little, plain-looking, and has an Irish accent (says *sowl*, etc.) but he is a great orator."

"And so Home again! How much we had to speak about! It has been a serious year for my Father: the crop was light and didn't sell well; indeed farming at this rate is ruination, and my Mother is very anxious about things." With Spynie Loch to be drained, she had only too much reason to be anxious, good crops or bad.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY MINISTRY

ON reaching home James Cooper lost no time in proceeding towards License. He was now (April, 1871) in his twenty-sixth year. The formal steps towards License had apparently been completed before he had gone abroad in the October of the preceding year, and now on May 10th he presented himself to the Presbytery of Elgin for "public probationary trials," which involved (when the relevant Acts of Assembly were carried out) written and oral examination and the submission of certain prescribed discourses. The previous day he writes: "In the evening I read over the whole of the Confession of Faith carefully. Only two clauses (one, 'marriage with Papists' and the other 'Pope is Antichrist') do I require to understand in any non-natural manner. The rest, I am firmly persuaded, is the truth of God." Before the Presbytery: "I was examined briefly in Greek, Hebrew, and Divinity; then I had to read portions of my discourses—the portions of the three Sermons from the pulpit of the Church. . . . The Presbytery then consulted for a little in private, then I was called in and informed that they licensed me as a Preacher of the Ever Blessed Gospel of Christ. The Moderator, Mr. Ingram of Urquhart, gave me a very good address, bidding me devote all my powers faithfully and humbly to the service I had now entered on. Which the Lord God give me grace to do, through His Son, Jesus Christ, and to Him be the Glory, Amen!—So I am now the Reverend James Cooper! May my life and doctrine be as worthy of reverence as the office I am called to is."

The Licentiate or Probationer, or as in older phrase he was called, the *Expectant*, occupies in our practice a position which may need explanation. It originates, or it is recognised, in a clause of the Westminster Directory¹ to the effect

¹ *Of Publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures.*

that "Such as intend the Ministry may occasionally both read the word and exercise their gift in preaching in the Congregation, if allowed (i.e., approved) by the Presbytery thereunto." Custom has made this "occasionally" to read "regularly," and they are now commonly occupied as Assistants to incumbents of parishes or are in charge of Missions or Chapels of Ease, in which case their duty corresponds more or less to that of the English "Curate." They are licensed only to preach the Gospel, but custom again allows them to conduct ordinary services and to teach, to officiate at funerals, and generally to make themselves useful in parish work. They may not celebrate any sacrament or conduct any service of benediction such as marriage, and they are not members of any Church Court. They and they alone are eligible for ordination. Custom again requires them to wear clerical dress and addresses them as Reverend—but the last at least is recent; within living memory the older school (an instance occurs to me in the practice of Dr. Wm. Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh) would have preferred to write, "Mr. —, Preacher of the Gospel," and popularly the Missionary and the Bible-woman were ranked very much together. Things are better now, but the status of the Assistant as such is still only one of contract—which calls for remedy. The obvious remedy might seem to be that men discharging such functions should be ordained to diaconate—"Assistant" is after all a fair translation of *διάκονος*; and when Paul and Barnabas had John Mark for their deacon, or when St. Paul would have Timothy to go with him, it is not impossible that they looked to these young men for help not unlike that which a Parish Minister hopes to obtain from his Assistant. Unfortunately a dubious exegesis of the narrative of the Book of Acts as to the calling of the Seven induced the Westminster Fathers to infer a Ministry "to whose office it belongs, not to preach the word and administer the Sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor,"¹ a duty which, so far as it is now left in the Church's care, is in the use of the Church of Scotland efficiently enough discharged by Kirk Sessions. Few of the parishes have deacons; nevertheless the office is in this way theoretically reserved. The whole subject of the Diaconate seems to be one which, though not for the same reasons, needs reconsideration on both sides of the Border;

¹ Form of Church Government—*Deacons*.

and if Lambeth proposals and conferences issue in practical measures, it is possible that such reconsideration may be obtained.

The probationer's life is normally and properly an uneventful life and one need not dwell in detail on Cooper in this stage of his experience. He preaches, teaches, visits; there was not much else to do, for the day of multiplex organisations had not yet dawned for parishes in Scotland; and in each of these departments of work he begins to find himself and arranges his ideas. There is the inevitable distraction which besets men in such a position—the question of “prospects” and preferment. The reluctance of the Church of Scotland to assume responsibility for the adequate training of her future clergy leaves a probationer eligible for a charge from the moment of his license—“expectant” would obviously be the fitter style for him. The Act of 1874, professing to abolish patronage in the Church was then only in agitation (with Cooper's fervent disapprobation) and patrons still exercised their statutory right of presentation. They did so, however, for the most part with caution and reserve, “consulting the wishes of the people,” as the phrase ran, and generally offering them the choice of several possible presentees. As for patronage, it is not abolished, and it cannot be abolished; else offices would naturally remain vacant. There may, however, be a better patron or a worse, and if there be a worse than the corporate or multitudinous, it has yet to be discovered. The method in use in the early seventies contrived to combine whatever evils exist in individual patronage with those which unquestionably inhere in popular patronage, and the sections of Cooper's diaries which cast light on them are rather pitiful reading. These sections do not bulk largely—there were vacancies at Speymouth, Ayr, Pencaitland and Banff, which interested him, and of these Banff attracted him strongly. I do not pretend that he was greatly concerned as to the ethics of candidature—he seems to take it for granted, and to assume, as too many of us do, that what is must be. He had valued freedom enough to keep himself from the entanglement of premature matrimonial projects, but men cannot so easily escape from filial obligations, as others than he doubtless have felt; affairs at Spynie were increasingly “anxious.” His income as an assistant seems to have varied between £80 and £84 *per annum*, which was not independence of home help; and the necessity of settle-

ment in some parish was probably sufficiently pressing. As it was, his period of "probation" lasted from May, 1871, to April, 1873.

Immediately on License he went on Dr. Milligan's nomination to assist Dr. Hutchison at Banchory,¹ a superior for whom he formed a profound regard. At the end of his engagement there he became assistant to Dr. Alexander of the East Church of Stirling,² whose health was poor. At Stirling, his principal being incapable of duty, he was rather *locum tenens* than "Helper." He must have by that time acquired some favourable reputation in the Church, and while at Stirling was offered more than one similar post—notably the Assistantship of the East Church, Aberdeen, which seems to have kept an eye on him throughout, until later it called him to be its minister; but consideration for his invalid principal, Dr. Alexander, and for the difficulties of the Stirling Kirk Session, led him to decline even this, which evidently tempted both him and his Mother for him. A little later, however, the serious illness of his old and honoured friend, Dr. Wylie, senior Collegiate Minister of Elgin Parish, and Dr. Wylie's personal wish for James Cooper's help, were irresistible considerations. Elgin was always "the city of his heart," and Spynie lay only a mile or two from it; and in April, 1872, he took up duty there. One can see that it is with trepidation that he returns in his new character to work among so many old friends, seniors who had known him as a boy, juniors who had grown up with him. With all his sense of vocation and with an adequate consciousness of his own powers, he was not self-complacent. At Banchory one Sunday he finds his sermon "weak and vapid"; on another he is discouraged by learning from an experienced sermon-taster that "it is Popish to pray directly to Christ!" "My prayer for to-day had this of course, and I could not and would not alter it; but such things are unfortunate"—for there is gossip in Banchory as well as in Elgin, and gossip flies far in the Kirk—a Popish probationer is a thing fearful to contemplate: "I was exceedingly nervous." There are many references at this time to nervousness; he is ashamed when in face of his task of preaching he is not nervous, and he is distressed when nervousness stumbles him or exhausts him.

¹ The Very Rev. George Hutchison, D.D., Minister at Banchory Ternan, Moderator of Assembly, 1887.

² The Choir of the ancient Parish Church.

Of one sermon at Stirling he despairs : “ I hope I shall never have to preach it again, for it is puerile, stiff and at once incoherent and ‘ omniscient ’ ; and, besides it goes over too much ground. I thought a great deal of it when I wrote it first.” These touches of nature will make most of those who must preach feel their kindred to him. By and bye, however, he takes courage : “ I preached in the afternoon on ‘ He spake of the Temple of His Body,’ and it is a good sermon, and I extemporised a good deal and delivered it better than usual—yet the comparative excellence allowed to me, how painfully does it minister to my natural vanity ! I would loathe myself for it.” And again, “ I preached in the East Church (Stirling) my sermon on the ‘ Unity of the Church ’ ; the delivery was vigorous ; I suppose that made the sermon tell ; Mr. Ogilvie says it is the best he has heard from me.” It marks a stage that he begins to find the use of old sermons irksome : “ How I could have written it, yea, been proud of it, I don’t know.”

During this time, however, of the Stirling Assistantship there was an incident to which Cooper always looked back, and to which he often referred as the first which gave him confidence. The Prince of Wales had been at death’s door ; his recovery, on that, as on a later occasion, seemed almost miraculous. As there had been fervent intercession and prayer for him in his illness, so there was as general and as hearty thanksgiving for the answer of prayer. At Stirling, however, there was a difficulty—on the day appointed for public thanksgiving the Presbytery of Stirling was indicted to meet, and had no choice but to hold its meeting ; a Presbytery which does not meet “ pursuant to intimation ” (made at the close of the previous meeting) becomes thereby extinct ; members of the Court could not be in their places in Court and also in their parishes to conduct the service enjoined. Nevertheless, Dr. Alexander’s senior Assistant and his young colleague Mr. Bonallo were resolved that in the principal Church of Stirling thanksgiving there should be, and with all courage intimated and arranged accordingly. Cooper writes of it to a friend : “ 28th February, 1872 : We had a service on Tuesday—an hour long—in the East Church. Mr. Bonallo, my colleague, took the devotional services, then left the pulpit, and I went up and preached for fifteen minutes from *Psa. cxix, 71*, which I applied to *us* :—it was good for us as a nation—stimulated loyalty, as a Church—shewed how strong still is the spirit of national religion and

as Christians—proved the value and the power of prayer, that we were afflicted :—a high Tory and Church effusion. Then we sang the special hymn and I read the Archbishop's special collect, etc. So I flatter myself that our service was more like that in St. Paul's than in any other Scotch church." That sermon had given anxiety in preparation—the diary notes as it grows that it is "peculiar, but I believe true, and I think appropriate," and when finished its author fears that it is "somewhat too violent, not for the truth but for propriety." It proved, however, to be effective: "it made much stir in the town" and the preacher gained confidence for the future plainness of pulpit speech as to public matters which, in later days, never failed him.

He discovers too what "visiting" means in the clerical experience—its testing and its educative value, "I visited two families at the poorhouse; one of the women is dumb. . . . I imagine that no part of a Minister's work is so edifying to himself as this visiting. A sort of *éclat* seems to surround one's pulpit ministrations, but here everything tends to make one humble. I feel so thoroughly my unfitness for it, and my awkwardness and uselessness in it; yet I must do it, and woe unto me if these souls are lost through my fault."

Even in a probationer's days there are humours and incidents; one may, it seems, meet with a Minister who considers the Scottish Hymnal to be ritualistic, or one may have to take very high ground on the subject of one's presence at dances (presumably as a *sitter-out*) as injurious to one's usefulness, feeling it to be a duty to go, however much injury it might do to oneself.

On the other hand in pursuance of these principles one may find oneself at a ball in a great house and be shocked at the manners and doings of high society in its country guise; "We met in the dining-room and adjourned to the drawing-room to dance. May I never be present on another such occasion—nearly all the gentlemen in the house were tipsy; they wore kilts and no gloves, they danced irregularly and flung their heels like savages." Things were better managed in Elgin.

Or in more serious ways: "Banchory, June 20th, 1871: I went with Dr. Hutchison to call at Inchmarlo (Professor Davidson's) . . . Dr. H. had an altercation with Mr. Davidson about the latter giving lay-preachers admission to the school; Dr. H. says if they preach there he must warn his

people not to attend ; and he is quite right ! ” “ Stirling, 15th January, 1872 : I went to hear Prof. Seeley, (the author of *Ecce Homo*) lecture on the British Empire—by which it turned out that he meant the moral (or as he called it, the spiritual) sway of British ideas and British literature. He assumed the omniscient prophetic attitude and told us that the great event of this century was the occupation of the New World, the causes that had hitherto retarded it, and that made the British constitution the classic policy, and British literature the classic literature of this new world. The whole was founded in the Cobdenite admiration for American and other Radical principles. Everything was dry and chilly and clear. I have a lower idea of *Ecce Homo* since I saw and heard the author.” “ Stirling, 18th January : I went with Mr. Ogilvie to Kennet to the examination of a school there ; it was no great affair, but Lord Burghley¹ and his Mother, Mrs. Bruce of Kennet, were there the whole day and took Mr. Ogilvie and me back with them to luncheon at Kennet House. Lord Burghley . . . is quite a young fellow, tall, handsome, agreeable and apparently very sensible. I believe he is to be ordained as an elder in Clackmannan Church soon, and he is a Conservative.” “ 21st January, 1873 : Dean Stanley in Scotland is the theme of all conversation. He gave four lectures in Edinburgh on the Church of Scotland ; he preached in Dr. Wallace’s, Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and for Dr. Caird in the University Chapel, Glasgow ; and now he is lecturing in Glasgow—complimenting everybody and everything all round. I seem to stand pretty much alone, but I didn’t relish his flattery ; it is to make us all Broad-churchmen ; *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*.” “ 3rd April : I went . . . to 44, Inverleith Row to call on Prof. Charteris ; I found both the Professor and his wife at home, went out with them for a stroll in the Botanical Gardens and then had a lunch-dinner with them. Professor Charteris is very pleasant ; we had a talk about the doctrine of the Holy Ministry ; he does not believe in succession ; Ministers are the delegates and representatives of the people, from whom and not from Christ they receive authority. I could not hold this view. He says our Church books are inconsistent with themselves on the subject. He was very polite and affable. His

¹ The Rt. Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T. It was he, who, when Secretary for Scotland, appointed Dr. Cooper to a chair in Glasgow University.

wife, as I expected, is delightful, uniting her father's talent with her mother's taking manners."

Cooper was in no haste to leave Elgin; he was extremely happy there, highly appreciated, and, as one gathers, more of a personality in the life of the town than the average assistant to a town Minister expects to be. Dr. Wylie was an old man and dying; and it seemed possible that in the event of his death the Assistant would be desired to succeed him. On the other hand, the patronage lay with the Crown, and the predominant political influence was not likely to be exercised in his favour. When therefore in the beginning of 1873 he was offered the charge of St. Stephen's Church, Broughty Ferry, he accepted it without much hesitation. "13th February. My birthday: I am twenty-seven years old to-day; they say I look much younger. I ought to be younger for all that I have done." His opportunity for doing had now come to him. St. Stephen's was a new Church; it had no long tradition to hamper him. For a man of ideas and purposes that is good fortune; he builds on a foundation whose lines he himself draws, and for at least his own incumbency he may hope to see his work both stand and grow. Obscurity of sphere may be even to his advantage—he is the more likely to be let alone; on the other hand there is this disadvantage in such a position that it yields too little experience in the art of working with other people and does not teach the wisdom of regard for custom and usage; it is only a John Macleod who can lay hands on the ancestral structure of a great old parish and wrench it into newness of life. Cooper did much when later he went to Aberdeen, but hardly that. At St. Stephen's he found a fabric which was at least capable of improvement, and a district (there was as yet no parish delimited for it) of manageable size. St. Stephen's was a constituted Chapel of Ease to the Parish of Broughty Ferry, itself a Parish *quoad sacra* (what across the Border would be called a District Church) disjoined from the ancient Parish of Panbride, one of the many St. Bride's in the Celtic or once Celtic areas.

Cooper left Elgin with high credit, and with more remark than normally attends a departing "Assistant"—enriched with silver plate (presented by the hands of the Provost himself) and commended by the local press: "*The Elgin Courant* appears with an article on my appointment (to St. Stephen's) which puts me to the blush, picturing what I

might have done rather than what I have done." His ordination followed in due course on April 9th, 1873. He notes on the 7th, "I have attempted to-day in accordance with the Scripture and our Church's orders to fast before my ordination. But a miserable thing I have made of it. I recollect Aunt Mary saying that she tried to fast, but thought the whole day about what she was doing; so do I; but I suppose it is because unused to the duty; we are taught to pray—and early; if we were taught early to fast, we might do so more profitably; I am sure we lose real benefits by neglect of this, for it is an ordinance of God, and therefore must be useful." He refers to the prescription of the *Form of Church Government* that ordination is by imposition of hands and prayer "with fasting" by the Presbyters to whom it belongs (the congregation is required to fast as well). Our Church standards in fact make much of fasting. The Confession of Faith itself reckons "solemn fastings" among the parts of "religious worship":¹ the Catechism finds "religious fasting" to be among the duties required by the Decalogue²; the Directory devotes a section to the subject,³ with rules of extraordinary severity. When prescribed, a fast is to continue the whole day; it requires total abstinence, not only from all food, but also from all worldly labour, discourses and thoughts, bodily delights, rich apparel, ornaments and the like, "and much more" from other carnalities. There is consideration for the case where bodily weakness does "manifestly disable from holding out until the fast be ended, in which case something may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature when ready to faint." Congregations and families may further appoint fasts for themselves—a rule under which "sacramental fast days" before the Celebration of the Holy Communion were introduced by the Protesters and continued to be appointed, but not to be observed as Fasts, until recent times. In this as in some other things extremity of demand has led to reaction and the obsolescence of the good. It is our way in Scotland to go from extreme to extreme. In spite of what Cooper calls "our Church order," one may hazard the guess that by ninety-nine out of a hundred of our people fasting, at the time referred to, would have been supposed a carnal and superstitious observance. Since then the General

¹ Ch. xxi, 5.

² *Larger Catechism*, 108.

³ *Concerning Publick Solemn Fasting*.

Assembly has afresh commended it to its ministers and faithful people—I do not know with what effect.¹ As to Cooper's own practice, he celebrated fasting, though in his Aberdeen years the Communion Service lasted two to three hours and entailed exertion. It seemed to increase his nervousness, but not to lessen his fervour in devotion or his power in preaching. I remember that he told me that at Elgin in his boyhood the practice of fasting communion still survived among some of the more serious, and recalled one instance in which a lady had fainted during service, and he was desired not to remark upon it; there had been that reason for her weakness. At a later time Cooper was to have trouble as to this matter of the association of fasting with ordination, when the practice of evening ordinations and Sunday ordinations came into vogue, Church order yielding to the "policy" of securing larger attendance of the laity. One of his favourite sermons was on our Lord's rule for fasting (St. Matt. vi, 16-18): it was not popular, and where he had used it, he noticed that he was not always asked to preach again; so much for the Sermon on the Mount and the Church standards. But—as was remarked of another preacher, "If there's an ill text in the hail Bible, that man's sure to tak' it"—so in the judgment of some might be said of him.

He does not say much of his attainment to the Presbyterate: "9th April, 1873: My Ordination Day—ever to be remembered, ever momentous to me—the crown of my life and expectation. . . . Truly my vows are serious, but my help is in One That is mighty; let me trust ever in Him! May He defend me and bless me as His Priest and His people's Minister."

Things went quietly enough at St. Stephen's. Cooper had too much sense to pose as a "new broom" or to rush his people into unfamiliar ways before gaining their confidence. He has been thought rash, and he certainly could be startling; but in fact he combined with his natural impetuosity and with "that courage which a Minister of Christ needs" for which he repeatedly indites a prayer, a large measure of North-country caniness and common sense. I do not think that he was a specially good judge of individual character; he thought too well of men, and sometimes misconceived for good the spirit that was in

¹ Deliverance on Report of Committee on Temperance, 1911.—*Reports*, p. 711.

them ; but of human nature and of the way in which to deal with it he had a strong instinctive understanding. He was persistent, possibly obstinate, and once a step was taken he did not easily draw back ; but he took no step hastily, and he needed to draw back from few that I remember. He was a Tractarian much more than a Ritualist—Dr. Pusey was, I think, his model ; and Dr. Milligan his teacher—neither of whom cared for the ceremonial or the ornamental. Cooper cared for both, but in a degree remotely secondary to his care for what he believed to be the truth or the institution of Christ. He loved beauty in all things and in all places and uses—in the House of prayer as in the garden or the home ; and he did not see reason why gardens should be well kept and churches be neglected, or why houses should be well arranged and lovingly adorned, and the place of worship be squalid and hideous. He exacted of himself courtesy in his human contacts, and he expected due respect from his fellows ; his common manners were courtly—with a peasant or maid-servant as much as with a peer or with a dignitary—some would have called him ceremonious in his address, and he would have accepted that as commendation—he did not see why in sacred things and official actions he should be less solicitous, or in public approach to the Deity disregard the usual intimations of reverence. Nor did he see that what Sir Walter Scott in another relation has called our national sluttishness should be taken for simplicity and let rule in the House of God. He did not hold with Mrs. McClarty in the *Cottagers of Glenburnie* :—" We dinna pretend to napkins"—if a towel were required, he preferred a towel to a dishclout. A Colonel is none the worse leader because he insists on " smartness " in his regiment. Edward VII was understood to be exact as to details of uniform and decorations ; but " royal millinery " was not his main occupation, any more than " judicial millinery " of robes and ribbons is to a judge of the High Court. A householder is not necessarily effeminate because he prefers good furnishings to bad, or because he chooses his pictures well, nor even because he values the heirlooms which have descended in his family. Where our way of doing things is necessarily significant, it is better that our way of doing them should convey true ideas than false ; where it is indifferent how things should be done, it is better to follow a customary and understood method than to distract worshippers by uncertainty. Cooper

probably knew all that, for it is only common sense ; he certainly did prefer the traditional ways of Christian worship to Transatlantic innovations or to those of professional laziness, and generally speaking he saw something venerable in the antiquity of a custom. Was he mistaken ? He loved the beautiful—and the beautiful has now attained the rank of an “ absolute value,” which the late Mr. Clutton Brock seems (I think mistakenly) to set on a par with that of the true and the right. But far before beauty he set order and reverence, a prayer above any furnishings ; while for any detail of the Christian creed he would very freely have let go whatever else he thought precious. If he laid more stress on (I will not say, attached more importance to) the accidents or methods or gestures or implements of worship than some of us do, what is it but that he anticipated psychology in recognising that action and environment shape as well as express the soul ? It was not in ritual or ornament that Cooper was to be obnoxious to critics, but for the matter of his teaching in things of grave importance.

The St. Stephen's diaries cover only a year or little more. The only reference to Church furnishing is of the purchase of linen and sacramental plate, as to which all concerned were alike studious that it should be excellent in design and material—and the purchase of a lectern has some passing mention. The entries are brief and do not offer much for quotation. Cooper is still dissatisfied with his own work : “ I preached twice to-day in St. Stephen's, my own Church. I wish I could feel it more and feel more my responsibility for the immortal souls I preach to. I should not then preach so coldly as I did this morning.” “ My birthday ; I am twenty-eight to-day. Lord, how many have been Thy mercies, and how grievous my sins and shortcomings in the past. Let me ‘ follow after holiness and charity ’ this year and henceforth.” “ I wrote to-day a whole sermon—a poor enough one, alas ! on the Ten Lepers, the unthankful Nine ; it is at least something that I have managed to do two in one week ; one well done would have been better, but circumstances compel me.” Still a poor sermon may carry plain doctrine. “ Mr. — spoke to me about my remarks on Confession in my sermon yesterday, which will doubtless cause much conversation. Mr. — agrees with me about confession, only not to a clergyman. But has he not a special commission of forgiveness ! Is he

not *the* ordained channel of the assurance of forgiveness? I think he is, and I think his office as such his central office. He ministers the word of it, the sacraments of it, and why not the assurance of it? And Christ says so." Later, "In the afternoon, preaching on Christ as our Example of a Peacemaker, I spoke of the sin of separate and antagonistic National Churches—the sad schisms caused by a Reformation, which more than anything else has, I believe, been at the root of the diffusion of the principle of schism. It is actually difficult, in the face of Scripture, to teach men that schism is a sin!" It was difficult: I remember still how in my licentiate days I was snubbed on the subject by a minister of some consideration: "I don't think much," he said, "of the sin of schism." Yet in our process of discipline, schism is a "reserved case."

Cooper in those days refers continually to what he names Broad-churchism, which in its ruder forms was then coming to the surface: he found it evidently more prevalent than in the conservative North and was startled. On the occasion of the first service at which he was present in his new presbytery, "Mr. ——'s sermon was on Galat. vi, 2: it was a clever sermon, but woefully different from St. Paul's spirit, I think. We have much cause to fear for the future of the Church:—Broad-Churchism, infecting prayers and sermons both, would wither our Christianity far more quickly than it has been able to do that of the Church of England." "To-day I was introduced to the Rev. Mr. —— who told me that his idea of the Presbyterian Ministry was that he was only the people's mouthpiece, not their teacher but the representative of their opinions!! Why does he study then?" "I preached in the forenoon . . . in the afternoon Mr. Tait of St. Madoes, a Ritualistic Broad-Churchman (according to the new and odd school that seems to be rising in our Church) preached. But his sermon was evangelical enough," as indeed the sermon of that preacher was sure to be. "Dr. Caird has been preaching a startling sermon near Glasgow, which apparently says that scepticism in a Christian land and in educated people may be innocent, a misfortune but not a fault." There is a good deal more about this sermon, since presently Dr. Caird used it or one similar "in Dundee, at the opening of Mr. Knight's¹ new Church"—and Cooper in his diary refutes it at some length.

¹ The Rev. Wm. Knight, then in communion with the Free Church, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews.

"Principal Caird is to be prosecuted for his sermon; an Elder (a Mr. Wallace) has brought the matter before the Presbytery of Glasgow, who, however, do not know whether he belongs to their jurisdiction. I hope the case will not be mismanaged; I pray that the Presbytery will not be daunted by Dr. Caird's reputation, nor by the abuse they will get. I hope Dr. Caird will see his error and retract it." Of a less important person, "Mr. ——'s conversation shewed an amount of Broad-Churchism I could scarcely have believed would have been held in Scotland by a Scotch Minister. I think he has a kind of fanaticism of those views. But he is doubtless an excellent man and a useful priest." On the other hand there is sometimes encouragement: "Christmas Day, 1873: The Scottish newspapers have taken to advocating Christmas services. Dr. Watson had service in St. Mary's, Dr. Boyd at St. Andrews, and in Edinburgh Mr. Scott,¹ Greenside and Mr. McMurtrie² had. Please God, I shall have service also next year. It is not often that one has an opportunity of speaking to prepared minds, and (on such a day) preparation has come, whether we wanted it or not."

Holy Communion was still at that time celebrated with extraordinary rarity. The custom that (after the precedent of the Passover) there should be only one celebration in each year, which still rules on grounds of "principle" over part of the Highlands, was yielding to that of semi-annual Communion (I remember the first such Communion in my father's Parish). Communion every three months seemed as extreme as a monthly Communion seems to some at present, but it was on its way, an innovation which especially in rural districts was received without enthusiasm; Dr. H. M. Hamilton of Hamilton told me that as he left the pulpit on the Sunday when he first intimated it, he heard one burly farmer observe to another, "I suppose we'll hae nae time to oorsels ava' sune." One of Cooper's first steps at St. Stephen's was to moot this extravagance. "I regret to find that Mr. H—— doesn't at all like my proposal of a quarterly Communion, which, however, I think all but imperatively demanded." Before long he secured it. There was, however, the more difficult question of clinical Communion—difficult, because the dispensation of Sacraments

¹ The Very Rev. Archibald Scott, D.D., of St. George's, Edinburgh, Moderator, 1896.

² The Very Rev. John McMurtrie, D.D., Moderator, 1904.

except *in facie ecclesiæ* is formally prohibited by the Westminster Directory. What was more important was that the Communion of the Sick was exceedingly rare, and to many persons unheard of and inconceivable. Private Baptism was equally forbidden, but was usual enough, and in some parishes was the rule. Marriage except in Church was also illegal, but marriage in Church had become obsolete and was in the common view an "aping" of prelacy; though till about 1700 it was universal among us, and for another half-century was frequent. This combination of adherence to the usual and disregard of law, with rigid enforcement of law where it coincided with social habits, constituted the "uniformity" which Church courts were still endeavouring to enforce; and if they chose to enforce it, the law was there. To the Christian who can see with his eyes, the law which would forbid the Sacrament to the dying might seem incredible—there are those who might even think it a serious corruption of Gospel practice. Cooper had not reached that opinion—nevertheless the prohibition irked his soul. A few months after his ordination he broke the ice in that matter: "In the morning at the desire of Mr. Smith I celebrated the Holy Communion in his house; 'twas not a private Communion: Mr. Smith, two Miss Mackenzies, a nurse, besides the invalid and I, more than the 'two or three' of whom our Lord speaks; and I did not omit any necessary part of the service. I am aware that what I have done is contrary to the usage of our Church and to some old statute, but the sooner that statute falls into disuse the better—the Apostles broke bread from house to house, and the service to-day seems to me to be more likely than anything else to be beneficial, I hope to all of us. May God forgive me if I have done wrong: may He defend me if I have done right, and bless each one of us concerned, through Jesus Christ." "I called on Mr. Henry Smith and spoke to him about giving him the Communion as I did to Mrs. Smith; he would like it much (for he was ill and away at the Spring Communion) but he fears that it might damage me. With the people it might—I don't think with the Presbytery or with those fit to judge." Like a sensible man Cooper submitted the matter to the Minister of the parish in which his chapel was situated (he might more wisely have done so sooner):—"In the afternoon I called on Mr. Wilson—we spoke of Communion to the Sick; he would evidently gladly enough administer it and quite approved of my doing

so." All, however, did not. "I dined at Dr. —'s . . . to meet Mr. Young, Monifieth, and Mr. Bedells. Conversation turning on private Communion, Mr. Young said it was punishable in our Church, and he said he would promote a suit against transgressors; yet he said there would be no more prosecutions for false doctrine! Then have we lost our faith and retained our rationalistic tradition in worship?" "I went to Inchtute Manse to-day to consult Dr. Honey about giving Mr. Henry Smith Communion in his house. He told me he thought I should, over-ruled Mr. Young's objections, advised me, however, to consult my elders and take some of them with me. I wish I had followed this course in Mrs. Smith's case. Dr. Honey was most kind and pleasant."

That first year of Cooper's ministry was the year of the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the American Evangelists, to this country. Like many others, he was exercised in soul how to regard their mission and how to relate himself to it. The excellence of the Missioners and the power of their word few questioned. Scotland was deeply moved by them, and on the face of it was moved for good. If one might judge only by immediate fruits, one could only judge favourably; many were turned to righteousness. The Church may know to-day in many a Parish and very markedly in matters related to foreign evangelism what it has lost and is losing by the passing away of those men and women who in those days first "saw the Lord." At the same time there was anxiety because of a certain novelty—some might prefer to say, a freshness—in their presentation of the perennial Gospel. There seemed to some that in their statement of it there was too little said of penitence, and that assurance of salvation was too freely identified with saving faith. Our confessional theology does not admit of that identification. No doubt the question, as it was suggested by the work of Moody and Sankey, was largely one of emphasis, scarcely one of orthodoxy in even the narrower sense; and doubtless we should thank God to have such men and such work among us again to-day; and we do not see them. Nevertheless I have often thought, though not with certainty, that reaction against these features of Moody's presentation of the Gospel had to do with the break up of that solid evangelicalism which so far, based in its standards, had been the characteristic and prevalent doctrine of the Scottish Church. I think that through the

excited days of 1874-5 some good men doubted that so it might prove ; for the movement was a great one and was certain to leave its mark on popular theology as well as on individual lives. Fundamentally Cooper was an evangelical, as all Scots, trained in our Catechetics, naturally tend to be, and as every high churchman and sacramentalist must necessarily be. One's own experience in pastorate has been that it is those souls whose eyes have been opened to truth, as truth is in Jesus, by such work as that of 1874, who are most capable of developing a fuller apprehension of our Lord in His Body, the Church, and in the Sacraments which He has given to the Church. The High Churchman and the Evangelical (using the word, not in the Modernist nor in the Teutonic sense, but in that which attached to it in 1874 and later) have in common all that Evangelicalism in that true sense of the word contains, and that Evangelicals value. Evangelicalism apparently does not see this, and therefore dwines and fades, while Modernism proportionately adopts the inheritance of that august name. The next Revival, I think, may be sacramental.

Cooper was an Evangelical of the sober sort which the Shorter Catechism nourishes, and he was anxious to think well of the American preachers and to further their mission ; at the same time it gave him anxiety : " 22nd January, 1874 : I met Mr. L—— . . . he was hearing Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the American preachers, last night, and was impressed with their earnestness and simplicity, rather than with their power. But earnest and simple preaching of the Gospel is what is promised the Divine blessing—the excellency of the power is God's." " I went to hear a Bible Reading by Messrs. Moody and Sankey in Free St. Paul's Church. I cannot say I liked the kind of thing ; and I really went wanting to be profited." " 1st February, 1874 : I preached in the afternoon on Prov. xxviii, 13, a sermon that (I think) specially suits the time and may help to counteract in my own congregation, what I believe is the error of the American Evangelists, the presentation of a faith that does not include repentance—a powerless dead faith." " 7th March : Mr. Graham (of the U.P. Church) called on me in reference to a series of prayer meetings it is contemplated to hold in the various Churches in the Ferry. It seems that some of the laity have begun them and are tending rapidly to something like Plymouthism. Thinking that we might direct the good and amend the evil, and also

thirsting for grace upon my own people, I joined the movement . . . stipulating, however, for certain arrangements which ought to secure order." "March 24th: In the evening the last of our series of Evangelistic meetings was held in the Public Hall . . . I enjoyed it most of them all. Mr. Lyon gave us a most stirring address on 'giving ourselves to the Lord.' Lord, may I give myself more and more to Thee! The Ministers discussed the propriety of having more such meetings, but I steadily resisted it: we never get any new hearers, and create a false excitement in those who habitually came. However useful a little is, too much stimulation is bad. Mr. Wilson remarked afterwards that it was a strange perversity that the people wanted these meetings, and grumbled at the appointed Fast Days. Only, Presbyterianism is just reaping the fruits she sowed, when in her perversity she rejected the arrangements of the Christian Year. I am more and more persuaded that we made a great loss then. Mr. Wilson is likely to agree about the proposed boundary for St. Stephen's Parish." This last sentence shows that St. Stephen's was consolidating, since its endowment and erection into a separate parish were already contemplated; public records show that this was completed in 1875.

Cooper's diary for 1873-1874 shows a few entries of general interest:—"10th July, 1873: Fast Day, at Inchtute, when I took part of the duty; Dr. A. K. H. Boyd of St. Andrews gave us a capital sermon on Self-Examination in the forenoon. . . . Dr. Boyd is most amusing, though very egotistical. I had no idea he was so good and practical a preacher. He *found* me." "4th November: In the evening answered the queries of the Committee of the General Assembly on Christian Life and Work. I think ultra-Protestantism, or rather the rationalistic 'tradition' in Evangelicalism and Moderatism alike, to blame for much of the alienation of men's minds from the Catholic faith. Only in corporate Reunion of the great National Churches on the basis of the ancient Creeds and ancient government do I see a way for the Church to cope with 'Liberalism'—which is twin brother to Infidelity." Infidelity, as some may remember, was a word much and somewhat loosely used in the Seventies, with reminiscence, possibly, of the "vulgar Rationalism." "February 23rd, 1874: I spent near an hour with Professor Milligan and walked to town with him. He and I do not agree in our views of the institutions of Christianity, but we

quite agree in disagreeing with Dr. Charteris and his party in their management of the Church." "It is said the English Jews are protesting against their conversion being prayed for in the English Church service: will Parliament be asked to do this next? Perhaps after all the Disruption of 1843 was not a mistake."

The diaries come to an end in May, 1874, perhaps as life grew busier. Cooper's Ministry in St. Stephen's was uneventful, a time of quiet preparation for a wider sphere, when that should open, and there is little to be told of it. I find a note which seems to be by himself to the effect that "in this charge he remained for eight years. Under his Ministry the Church was endowed and erected into a parish; the congregation also greatly increased, and a chancel, one of the first purposely erected in Scotland, was built. During that time it fell to him to refer in his sermons to the death of three notable Dundee Divines in Bishop Forbes, Mr. Gilfillan and Dr. Watson. He made the fruitful acquaintance of Dr. Sprott and Dr. A. K. H. Boyd of St. Andrews, became a member of the Editorial Committee of the Church Service Society and of the General Assembly's Hymn Committee, and was definitely confirmed in the views he had held as a student, which have been in fact the opinions of his life." The date of the Chancel building is not given: it may have been 1880, for in that year St. Stephen's was 'closed for alteration' for six or seven weeks; I remember two churches in the Presbytery of Hamilton, built about 1880, which had such an arrangement. His sermon-book shows Christmas Service from 1874 onwards; and the observance of Holy Week (which for a year or two he calls Passion Week) from 1878. Cooper believed himself to have been the pioneer in that respect, and I think believed correctly. The observance was not begun in Govan till 1884; other parishes followed in 1890. It is certainly a distinction to have led the way in this practice, of all such the most evangelical, the most profitable, and the most needed. It is also the most sifting: Holy Week will never be popular as Christmas is popular; the world will not rob us of its solemnity, as it has so much degraded the holy joy of the Nativity: even the religious prefer to rejoice with Christ rather than to follow the way of His sorrows; and week-day observances are less easy than such as Easter and Pentecost, which fall on a Sunday, when the "ordinary Churchgoer" cannot well avoid them, nor the ordinary

minister forget them. Yet there are many parishes in Scotland now in which the great week of our Lord's conflict is regarded.

The erection of St. Stephen's to the rank of a Parish Church carried with it the admission of its Minister to membership of the Presbytery of Dundee, and the procedure of the Court on the occasion gave opportunity to its Moderator¹ to commend Cooper's work which had made St. Stephen's "one of the largest, most influential and prosperous congregations within the bounds. . . . While avoiding everything that might be thought contrary to the genius of Presbyterianism, he had by the exercise of good sense and refined taste improved the service in St. Stephen's to such an extent as to make it not only more acceptable, but beautiful and effective. . . . He supplied a want which the speaker thought was too seldom supplied in the Scottish Church." A year later the accommodation of St. Stephen's had to be increased; two galleries (which Cooper with his undismayed optimism thought to be an improvement) were constructed and the Chancel of which we have heard was built; all of which was generally approved, and by the local press commended.

While at St. Stephen's Cooper began the practice of publishing any special sermon for which occasion called,—several of that time are still extant—on such subjects as Temperance and Missions. Always a sound and instructive preacher, generally attractive, and sometimes fascinating, he was at his happiest in these occasional sermons, and where his subject allowed him to be historical or biographical or to illuminate the discourse with literary allusion, he positively excelled. He found topics in public events, controversies, anniversaries, dedications, restorations, in some aspect of Christian Unity for Scotland or for Christendom, or with special brilliance in the deaths of the great, a Pusey, a Döllinger, a Gladstone; or of the locally famous, as Bishop Forbes of Brechin or Mr. Gilfillan, the amiable and eloquent Separatist. No man could say his say more plainly or more fearlessly than Cooper did in such sermons, nor with less irritation, even to those who are habitually irritated by whatever the last speaker may have said. He was reasonable in address and was seldom strained, unless when, as sometimes, he pushed Old Testament typology to its limit, and even then he was interesting and his conclusions at least

¹ The late Rev. D. B. Cameron, D.D., of Rosebank Parish.

were edifying. His published sermons, lectures, addresses, speeches and papers read to various societies, learned and otherwise, would fill a considerable number of volumes, and they are far from dull reading.

In 1879 Cooper found himself for the first time a representative of his Presbytery in the General Assembly, and forthwith put himself in evidence in debate—in those days there were debates, and divisions upon them. It seems to have been on the whole a quiet year without much exciting business. But the General Assembly is always exciting, or, as some put it, interesting; because the General Assembly can do anything, and because no man can be certain (or at least at that time could be certain) what it may do on any given question. That, if one loves the Church, is exciting; and is interesting, if one is that singular person known as a “friend of the Church.” In 1879 the most critical incident was the Report of a Committee on Union with other Churches, which had been appointed after the transfer of patronage to “congregations”; appointed in the hope, which many at that time entertained, that as questions connected with the exercise of lay patronage had in the past been the occasion of secessions and of disruption, the new position might, as the Convener, Dr. Charteris, said, “furnish at least a platform from which the Free Church might have proceeded to consider a basis of Union in an Established Church.” As the Free Church was unable to see the facts in the same light, the Committee found no encouragement to continue the correspondence in that direction, and thought it inexpedient to invite further communication from the lesser separated bodies. Dr. Charteris moved a deliverance in those lines, declaring further the Church’s willingness to promote reunion of Presbyterians in Establishment, and exhorting Ministers to cultivate “the spirit of unity and the habit of co-operation with the Ministers of all the Evangelical Churches.” Dr. Scott, who with a large following stood somewhat aloof from Dr. Charteris and his supporters and still more decidedly in opposition to those whom Dr. Wallace represented, and who had not yet made his discovery that the Church of Scotland is too small for the existence in it of parties (a maxim which may naturally commend itself to the leader of a majority, since in effect it means that his majority should not be opposed) moved *simpliciter* that the Committee be thanked and discharged: which on the whole appeared to express the mind of the

Assembly, other motions being only attempts to say the same but less curtly—except one which was moved by Cooper, to the effect that the Committee be reappointed, should reopen correspondence with the Churches approached, and farther should open communications with the Scottish Episcopal Church “which, besides its loyalty to the Faith and its common interest with us in the century succeeding the Reformation, agrees with us in holding the great principle of the duty of the State to acknowledge the Church of Christ.” There were farther clauses, deploring the divisive spirit and instructing Ministers to diffuse by prayer and sermon Scriptural views as to the sinfulness of schism and as to the Unity of the Church; and renewing “the caution of former Acts of Assembly¹ against holding Ministerial communion with men not duly ordained and sound in the Faith.” No seconder was found for this motion, and Dr. Scott had his way. In another question, however, which had to do with the proclamation of Banns of Marriage, Cooper carried the Assembly with him; and in several matters he made himself heard.

Meanwhile he had been passing through a crisis, not so much spiritual as judicial, in relation to a question of fact on which his future depended. The wonder is that it had not occurred earlier; but he gives his own explanation of that. He writes to Dr. Sprott:²

“PRIVATE.

“BROUGHTY FERRY,

“20th February, 1879.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I venture to ask assistance from you in what I feel to be a great crisis in my spiritual life.

“I have by God’s mercy been under deep impression of the necessity of a thorough obedience to our Lord Jesus. And simultaneously with this there has come a strong call, or temptation, to think that I must leave the Ministry in which I find myself. I have torturing doubts as to the validity of my Presbyterian Orders.

“Now you will acknowledge that whatsoever is not of faith is sin. If I cannot be satisfied that I am really a Presbyterian in Christ’s Catholic Church—however imperfect our branch may be—I feel that I cannot (without sin that

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1842-1849.

² The Rev. George Washington Sprott, D.D., Minister at North Berwick.

could be fatal to my hope of Heaven) continue to minister where I do. But of course (to set aside as now irrelevant all other considerations), if I can really accept what I feel (even too strongly) that I wish to accept, and believe that we have the Apostolic Ministry, I am not only entitled but bound, as I would avoid the sin of schism, to remain at my post.

"The thorn has been long in my flesh, and the whole neighbourhood of it is inflamed and sore. A year ago it was aggravated by a statement that ordination was omitted in the Scottish Church for some thirty years at the time of the Reformation, and that our Succession hangs on nothing.

"I ought to have studied the question (for me nothing can be more practical) years ago, and I cannot, I dare not, put it off longer.

"I implore you as a scholar, a priest and a Christian, to give me what help you can. To tell me the grounds which (I know) satisfy you so clearly.

"My difficulties are mainly two: (1) That the great stream of the Church *seems* to be without exception Episcopal till the Reformation. (2) That since then the Catholic Faith seems to have died out in nine-tenths of the non-Episcopal Churches.

"Believe me,

"Yours with much respect, but in a deep of anxiety that makes him unable to be still,

"JAMES COOPER."

Dr. Sprott's reply has not been preserved, but on February 24th, Cooper writes again:—

"I have to thank you very sincerely for your kind and helpful letter. I *must* not do anything, if I can help it, in ignorance, and I shall do nothing rashly. My great anxiety is not so much about the validity of our Presbyterian orders, but about the continuity of our succession. . . .

"I gratefully accept your kind invitation to go to see you, for I must be persuaded one way or another soon if I am to have any peace of conscience in my work. . . . Of course I do not expect to have everything made clear by one day's talk, but perhaps you can guide me to books of value in my enquiry as well as give me some results of your own studies. My parish has got nearly all my attention and my reading has been very desultory, and besides the Reformation age has always rather repelled than attracted me. I am sorry

to say I have not seen your sermon¹ to which you refer, nor did I know that you had published, though I often wished you would. I think we need a series of Tracts for the Times for Scotland. You probably know most of those in Scotland who believe in Church principles; we ought certainly to meet and consider the situation."

Such reckless statements as had startled Cooper "a year ago" were made then—they are sometimes, in a modified form, repeated still, when there is less excuse for them. It is curious that Cooper should only then have set himself to examine a matter which affected his position so radically, and had permitted himself an ignorance of its history and literature so complete.

The correspondence with Dr. Sprott, so far as fortunately it has been preserved, is evidence of the activity of conscience and of the sense of responsibility with which he now addressed himself to the examination; and the proof of the result which he reached is in the fact that he "remained at his post," a fact of much more significance than if he had never hesitated of his duty in that respect.

In January, 1880, he writes to an intimate friend: "I am no longer dissatisfied with my own position. I believe that the whole question of Church organisation and the forms of religious life, etc.—the bottles that hold the wine—must soon undergo great changes, and I am anxious in preparation for such a time so to build up my flock and myself that, when the inevitable cleavage takes place, we shall be found on the side of Catholic truth and order. I am by no means inclined to Romanise, but I am more and more opposed to popular Protestantism and the philosophic liberalism."

How entire and how steadfast the conviction to which his enquiry led him, he has left on record in passage after passage of his later writings. He sought reunions—but "none which may not be secured consistently with true loyalty towards our Spiritual Mother, the Church of Scotland. In her (as one of our old Divines expresses it) we were 'born and reborn,'² in her brought up, at her altars fed with the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ; receiving—such of us as are Ministers—at the hands of her Presbyters

¹ *The Necessity of a Valid Ordination to the Holy Ministry*, preached before the Synod of Aberdeen.

² Thomas Smeton, Principal of Glasgow University, 1580-1586. The quotation is from a writing of 1570.

the gift of Holy Orders, and owing to her Courts canonical obedience. We believe her 'the true and Holy Kirk of Christ in Scotland'¹ reformed from errors contracted in her mediæval period, but herself continuous from her first planting by such servants of Christ as St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, St. Columba, capable (no doubt) of improvement, but as truly Catholic as she is undoubtedly National."²

¹ Act of Scots Parliament, 1567.

² *Reunion*, Edinburgh, J. Gardner Hitt, 1909.

CHAPTER V

ABERDEEN MINISTRY

THE decade, 1860-1870, at the end of which Cooper began his probation, was critical in Scottish Church life. The old "uniformity" of thought and practice was beginning to break up. It was uniformity which on the whole had continued from the Revolution Settlement with little tendency to divergence in respect of doctrine, while in matters of worship, usage, and discipline change had been considerable, but so gradual that the Church was scarcely conscious of it. In some respects practice had grown slipshod; Baptism was administered and marriage solemnised for the most part in private houses, catechising was largely if not quite disused, discipline in the penal sense had come in effect, though not exclusively, to be exercised for scandals of only one sort; public penance was in abeyance; the rubrics of the *Directory* were but partially followed. At the same time there was a uniformity, even in these inconformities to prescription, which was really remarkable; and since earlier practice was forgotten (the Parish memory reaches back only to the time of grandmothers) this was tacitly taken to be the "present established uniformity" which the clergy were to observe. Custom, legal or not, was, because uniform, treated as law, and to depart from it was judged to be unfaithfulness, or perhaps rather "regardlessness": and to be regardless was in those days a serious matter. The accepted and current theology was very much the evangelicalism of the Westminster standards, such as was possible along with a doctrine of limited atonement and of a Divine Fatherhood restricted to such as are in Christ. Doctrines of limited atonement and of restricted Fatherhood had actually prevailed a generation earlier, but by the time of which I am writing, such conceptions had passed out of living faith, so entirely that it was only as a student of theology that I, for one, became aware of their theoretical

obligation or even of their existence, and can remember the revulsion of soul with which I first learned of them ; we heard nothing of them from the pulpit, but only a most earnest and unrestricted commendation of the love of God and of the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. Deism and Socinianism were extinct, unless where they lingered among a few cobblers and weavers. Moderatism in the party sense had in the course of the " ten years' conflict " passed away, and after the Disruption was inconceivable ; it had no doubt its surviving representatives, as the High and Dry School may still have in England. Yet the Church of Scotland remained moderate in the etymological sense—moderately evangelical, moderately zealous, moderately active ; and its moderation seemed to commend it to a very large element of the population which kept flowing to it to repair the desolations of 1843. But there was as yet no complete recovery from the shock which the Church's life had then received. Men were tired of Church questions and tired of the very name of " principle," deeply suspicious and almost resentful of any resuscitation of " highflying " tendencies. Much of the more impetuous element had been drained from the Church of Scotland into the new Separation, and there remained with her a constituency sober-minded, commonsensical, not entirely free from a certain indisposition to endure emotional appeal. The sensational in any form was barred—the monopoly of that was resolutely left to others. The temper of the laity was somewhat indifferent, occasionally cynical—that of the older clergy was mainly conservative with an active conservatism, alert and suspicious the more that it felt its insecurity. Very small things were observed and branded as symptomatic of the " dangerous." Clerical gossip was a force—for Scotland is a small country : Dr. Charteris used to say that there is not earth enough in it to cover a man ; even a young Chapel Minister in a Forfarshire suburb would be well enough known for that which he was, to all the people who mattered. One thought, moved, spoke in peril of being noted as " unsafe " ; it was not a good time for brilliant young men. Peculiarity of any kind was inadvisable. A very important Churchman could meet a younger man of his own calling and remonstrate—" I am sorry to see, Mr. —, that you are wearing a brown hat." " I observe, Sir," the rash youth answered, " that yours is distinctly green "—for indeed the Convener wore a very old hat. A licentiate known to me aroused painful

suspicion by attending funerals in a soft felt ; he, alas, possessed nothing more expensive ; but there was remonstrance with his superior, who surely did not know of the departure from Presbyterian order. It has been spoken of as a time of transition ; it was, rather, I think, a time of resistance to transition. It was a time of *minima*. Like the camel of fable, when its diet had been successfully reduced to one straw a day, the Church, as some eyes saw it—no doubt with boyish severity of judgment—seemed to have reached the point when nothing more could be taken from it, if it was to live at all. That troublesome invention “ called parish work ” of which one of Mr. Blackmore’s characters speaks with foreboding, was undeveloped ; worship was at its least in volume and was of an extraordinary bleakness ; and intellectual life was also low.¹ The Scottish clergy did not think much ; it was not safe to think, as John Macleod Campbell had proved. Norman Macleod had spoken much, but was hardly a thinker, though for such thinking as he hazarded he had his own troubles. Robert Lee had ventured to think for himself and even to act for himself in certain questions of worship, and had suffered

¹ There is no doubt another side to this. The Rev. John Cæsar of Panbride, Dr. Cooper’s Assistant from 1889 to 1895, writes that “ the years 1850-1870 were years of *minima* no doubt, of Broadchurchism and slackness all round. Nevertheless a great deal of very earnest and effective work must have been done. The Kirk made an amazing recovery from the disaster of 1843. In 1843 there were 200 members left in the East Kirk (of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen) ; when I left Aberdeen there were 2,000 and more. . . . In the country parishes here [Forfar] and no doubt elsewhere, the Ministers passed through very trying times from 1870 onwards. Stipends were very poor and there was no money to buy books or join libraries. . . . It was not very easy to study or to take a lively interest in things of the mind in these distressing circumstances. I suppose that many Ministers turned to their glebes to get something to keep themselves and their families decently clothed and fed, and spent perhaps too much time over them, and so Dr. Mitford Mitchell could say that the old country Ministers were rather farmers than Ministers. Well, if they were, they were good farmers. It was Dr. Bell of Carmylie, who invented the reaping machine. Then they did take great interest in the Schools till these were taken out of the hands of the Presbyteries, and even after that unhappy event, they were, I believe, the best friends the Schools had. And in the vast majority of cases they were much respected and beloved by their parishioners and many were excellent preachers. . . . I daresay that there was little “ Parish Work ” done in many parishes. But round about here a good deal of Parish work was done by the ladies of the Manse. It was not very well organised, but it was useful work and done with great faithfulness and zeal—visiting, assisting the choir, teaching in the Sunday School, looking after the Church, etc. I think that it was a sleepy time, but I wish to put in a word on the other side.”

My own recollections corroborate what Mr. Cæsar says, but I do not think that it conflicts with the view taken in the text.

for it. John Caird was as yet only a great preacher. Robert Flint, William Milligan, John Tulloch were coming men, but had hardly arrived. The older generation were in possession, and looked with anxious disfavour on anything symptomatic of change. All the same, various influences tending to change were working in the Church's life. The chief of them was reaction from the passions and motives of the Disruption contest. There had grown up a generation of men who had taken no part in that misery, but had lived through it in the school-room or college classroom, had matured in the indescribably bitter atmosphere of the subsequent years, and had sickened of it. They had seen the Scottish Church shattered, and such amenity as Scottish social life had possessed, sacrificed in name of doctrines which perhaps they thought exaggerations of things true enough, and of ideas which perhaps they judged might have waited for realisation. They came to doubt of all such overstressed idealism, and to be impatient of all such appeals to formulæ, as had swept half Scotland into separation. So the way was prepared for that "Broad-churchism" which alarmed Cooper, which was a temper as much as a form of opinion—as he says, a kind of inverted fanaticism. A recent writer¹ has spoken of a "new tone of pessimism in speculation" as having invaded the world of thought after 1871. "The men who grew up between the fifties and the eighties were mainly a disillusioned race, lacking in positive faith and scarcely capable of a decided negative. Their attitude to all that commanded the respect of an earlier generation was an acquiescence without homage; they had neither energy to oppose nor to admire; all that they could offer was a dubious and unconvinced conformity." This, I think, fairly enough describes the tone of the older Latitudinarianism which was then asserting itself in Scotland as elsewhere, which men like Cunningham, Wallace, or Wm. Gray may be taken to exemplify. German studies were occupying not a few of the younger clergy, and did not help to confirm them in the tradition. On the other hand, a crude but vital and earnest "Revivalism" had invaded Scotland from both English and Irish sources, and combined with the teaching of Macleod Campbell and of Erskine of Linlathen to modify such Calvinism as still survived. The strange spiritual movement which both in England and Scotland came to crisis in 1843 had as by-

¹ E. T. Raymond, *Mr. Balfour*, pp. 8-10.

products evolved Plymouthism and Irvingism, which at opposite poles of tendency interpreted the same ideas, and equally laid stress on that of the unity of the Church, on the evils of division, on the Mission of the Paraclete and on the Blessed Hope of the Advent. The appeal of Dr. Charles Wordsworth to Scotland had compelled attention to at least the first of these doctrines and had sent Scottish divines to examine the credentials of their orders, which since the days of the Protectorate they had held for demonstrated. Finally, the weight of the Tractarian impact began to be felt here also, and demanded at least consideration. The Tractarian movement had been prompted by alarm at the activities of Liberalism in and around Church life in England ; and it had worked out in a revival of religious energy in the Church of England. Liberalism and humanism had now penetrated the Church of Scotland also, and religious life here was running low ; Churchmanship was decaying. It was natural that here in turn the like threat should evoke a like alarm and should drive men back within their defences—their Bible and Catechisms. Church revival in England had no doubt readier resources to hand :—it had the Book of Common Prayer, rooted in the affection and confidence of the people ; it had the Christian Year ; it had the Canons, in great part unmodified ; it had a tradition which was at least less dislocated than our history has permitted. On the other hand, there was tradition here also, in its main features strongly catholic ; and this tradition, strong enough in the unconscious fidelity of the laity, was vigorous in the clergy and in their sons, who up to 1874 and for a generation later (it required a generation for the full meaning of the transfer of unrestricted patronage to the populace to discover itself) continued to supply a large proportion of the entrants to our Ministry. The doctrine of the Standards of the Church of Scotland as to Church, Ministry, Sacrament and Discipline is fundamentally and essentially Catholic ; and the Standards come within the knowledge of at least our students—the weakness of the position being that they are not familiar to the laity, as the Prayer Book makes them familiar to the laity farther south. Nevertheless, the material for Catholic revival existed. The Presbyterian was from the first, as Mr. Marriot has said,¹ “ the High Catholic of Puritanism.” Presbyterianism in at all events its classic form and Confessional position discerned the Kingship of Christ ;

¹ *Falkland and His Times*, p. 22.

it asserted the Church as a Divine imperium, "visible, universal, and divinely ordered," independent and autonomous; it maintained Episcopate, none the less that it was Episcopate put in commission; it asserted for the Presbyterate Apostolic Succession; it held a very distinct sacramental system, cumbered only by the endeavour to combine it with a doctrine of election; it exercised a vigorous discipline; it adhered to the oecumenical creeds in every term of their definitions and on that ground claimed to be acknowledged as Catholic.¹ The Church of Scotland, organised on a Presbyterian platform, was aware of itself simply as the Church, reformed but unaltered in identity. In one aspect the movement which culminated in the disruption of 1843 was an assertion of the "high" conception of the Church—those who went out were popularly known as the "high-flying" party; and that no doubt tended to weaken inclination to "high" principles in those who continued in the old relations. Yet these principles were held diffusedly by the flock, and taught, as Principal Hill had taught them, by such men as Principal Campbell of Aberdeen, Dr. Bissett of Bourtie, who has been already quoted, Dr. Wm. Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, Dr. Matthew Leishman of Govan, Dr. Trail, James Cooper's professor, Dr. Wylie, his Parish Minister; and hardly less by Dr. Hutchison of Banchory, his first chief, Dr. Lawrence Lockhart of Inchinnan, Dr. Keith of Hamilton, Dr. Wylie of Carluke, and no doubt by many others. The Churchliness of such men was often, perhaps, tacit and almost unconscious,—they believed as they had learned, and as they assumed the Church's faith to be. By Cooper's day that assumption had become less possible—Dr. Sprott of North Berwick and Dr. Leishman of Linton, the "Great Twin Brethren" their friends called them,² were very consciously and assertively witnesses for their principles, and still more so Professor Milligan as his views took shape and obtained expression, and John Macleod

¹ See *Second Helvetic Confession*.

² The revival of Church principles among us may be dated more or less definitely from 1868, when with a common purpose Dr. Leishman's annotated edition of the *Westminster Directory* and Dr. Sprott's of the *Book of Common Order* were published. Dr. John Macleod was accustomed to say that "but for Leishman and Sprott there would have been no movement," and that it was they who opened the quarry and supplied the material—"we younger men were but hod-men." During Dr. Macleod's incumbency of Duns (1862-1873) he was a frequent visitor at Linton Manse. Dr. Leishman's inherited position in the Church, his learning, and his known moderation and judgment, gave exceptional weight to his testimony as to the true tradition of the Church of Scotland.

when he raised his testimony at Duns. None the less the Church's heritage of Catholic principle was conserved and transmitted by such men as have been named. Cooper often seemed to feel that he and his churchliness of thought needed explanation—but, it may seem, they were really natural enough. No doubt his development was favoured by certain elements in his ancestry and family history, which he has described; by association with the native Episcopalianism of that North-East Scotland which evoked his "local patriotism" so strongly; by his childhood spent under the shadow of the lovely ruin of Elgin Cathedral, and by his youth at Spynie, where the great Castle of the Bishops of Moray towered over his home; and no doubt he was influenced by revulsion from the bitterness of the divisive spirit which (little as he alludes to it—his own relations seem to have unanimously adhered to the Auld Kirk) must have met him everywhere, as he tells us they did meet him in his school life—between 1846 and 1870 that spirit was very fierce. These influences bred in him the element which was distinctive in his Churchmanship and gave his career its characteristic bias, namely his horror of schism, and his passionate devotion to Christian unity; they certainly bred in him what in a secondary sense gave his testimony a flavour of its own, namely his friendliness to the Episcopal remnant of the Scottish Church and his resolute demand that it should be considered in any scheme of Scottish reunion, insisting as he did that the historic Church of Scotland was rent, not into two fragments as all men said, but into three; that the Episcopal fragment also had its root in a past common to all Scots and was needful to the rebuilding of Jerusalem on Scottish soil; that the importance of this remnant could not be measured by percentages of population; that our Church history did not begin in 1689, nor even in 1638, but must be read as a whole and the desolation of all its generations be repaired, if repair were to be worth its cost. Many people must have known these things—he had the courage to see and to declare them, without much support or sympathy even from his friends. For most of these were more intent to recall Presbyterianism to itself, to vindicate the traditional principles of Scottish Churchmanship, to orientate the tendencies of the Church of Scotland and to assert the lawfulness of its Ministry and Sacraments, than they were to claim justice for other people. We were concerned with the radical ideas; and among

them certainly with the condemnation of schism ; we did not pursue that idea to concrete inferences. And to tell truth the defence of the lawfulness of Presbytery may have had some tendency to produce an impatience of Anglican controversialism and its claims. Cooper often stood alone, even among those who in the great things saw as he saw. He was not a man of one idea—he had shoals of ideas, and they were his own ideas, necessarily his own, carefully thought out and in the result exceedingly crisp, on every point of history or question of conduct—ready as each point emerged in discussion—but he was a man dominated by one idea, that of the evil of dissension in the Church and the supreme necessity of recombining the elements of its life in one fellowship of faith and worship—an idea which, let us remember, now holds the field. He did much to bring about that result. But what has been called Scotocatholicism did not originate with him, nor with any one person. In the seventies it was in the air. Others than Cooper were working their way to similar conclusions, each for himself—for there was no *liaison* and no common teacher. They discovered one another with surprise, as their ways crossed and as they recognised their community of conviction. It was again with surprise that older men, accustomed to think that they only remained in Israel to witness to the doctrine of their fathers, found younger men rising round them as rediscoverers of the same. A friend who was then a probationer tells me of his first meeting with Dr. Sprott, and of how, as their conversation went on and showed coincidence of mind on point after point, Sprott asked him, “ And where did you get all that ? ” He had got it from his Bible and the Westminster Standards—I have before me now a copy of each, underlined in 1875 at every text or clause that illustrated the doctrine of Church and Ministry and Sacraments and Creed. I remember how about that time Dr. Charteris wrote to me in his kind way—and he could be very kind—advising me to read less of Newman and more of Thomas Chalmers ; but I had not in fact read a word of Newman—I had read the New Testament. Unawares we were anticipating what is now the latest discovery of criticism that the New Testament writers seem to have been Sacramentalists, and that William Law was not so far mistaken when he spoke of “ those mad furious High Churchmen, the Apostles.” There are doubtless those who, as to this, think with the old lady who was posed about these same

Apostles having walked in the fields on the Sabbath Day, and "thocht nae mair o' them for it," or with that Probationer who "did not agree with Paul." It remains that the Apostolic writers take on the whole a certain point of view which is now generally recognised as in root the Catholic view, that the Westminster Standards in this follow them—and that of these Apostolic writers we believed ourselves to be the disciples. There was no concert among us; we had no knowledge of one another; each was to the other a joyful discovery. Now when a number of men simultaneously perceive the same thing, they may be excused if they take it for something more than subjective delusion.

At the beginning of 1881 the East Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, became vacant by the translation of the Rev. Charles MacGregor to an Edinburgh Charge. The patronage lay with the Congregation, and its committee, finding that Cooper was recommended to them by Dr. Milligan as likely to be useful because of his opinions and by Dr. Flint as likely to be useful notwithstanding his opinions, went down to St. Stephen's to see and hear for themselves.

To Dr. Sprott: "Broughty Ferry, 23rd March, 1881: It is possible that I may go to the East Church of Aberdeen; do you think me a fool for even entertaining the idea? I am half inclined to think myself one; for I have been very happy here. I should make no pecuniary gain by the change, but the traditions of the City, the large congregation, and the important sphere are temptations. I declined to preach as a candidate either in the East or any other Church in Aberdeen. But last week, when I thought all thoughts of me had been given up, I was asked if I would be at home on Sunday, as a deputation were coming to hear me. They came, and on Monday Mr. Yeats told me they are unanimous in their resolution to recommend me to the congregation. This they will probably do on Tuesday. But the congregation, not having heard me, may go in for delay. If a large minority does so, I shall not accept the call, but if the people give me a pretty unanimous one, I shall go. . . . The deputation saw all my 'Ritualism' in an accentuated form. But they *liked* it rather than otherwise."

They returned to nominate Cooper unanimously, and a meeting of the congregation to which they reported (for so in those days things were managed—the Church had not yet assimilated its procedure in such matters to that of a parliamentary election) resolved as unanimously to call him

to their pastorate, and he accepted the call. He lost in income by doing so, as there was a Senior Minister, an invalid, to share in the endowment ; (he lost income again when he went to his Glasgow Chair, and was proud of these impoverisations) ; but the charge was much more important than that at Broughty Ferry and the new position was one of influence. Aberdeen is the chief city and centre of North-Eastern Scotland, and the East Church of St. Nicholas has, I think, an acknowledged precedence among its parish Churches. It occupies the choir of the ancient St. Nicholas' or at least its site, and where ancient churches are divided into separate places of worship, as St. Giles', Edinburgh, was, and as St. John's, Perth, is, the " East Church " or choir congregation inherits something of the dignity which in former use pertained to the choirs of churches. In its original magnificence the undivided St. Nicholas' was the largest parish Church in Scotland, and even now its splendid position and its mass and fine tower make its grouped East and West divisions, either of them large enough for the comfort of most preachers, sufficiently impressive. Cooper's own account of it to a friend says : " My congregation is the most important in the town. . . . It is composed of people of all classes and the parochial district includes some of the worst parts of the city. I have had some very distinguished predecessors—in the seventeenth century Wm. Forbes, the author of the *Considerationes Modestæ*, which is said to be the last irenical work between Rome and the Reformed Churches. He was afterwards first Bishop of Edinburgh. In the eighteenth century Principal George Campbell, who replied to Hume ; and in the present generation Dr. Marshall Lang and Professor Flint. The Church is the Eastern limb of the old Parish Church of St. Nicholas. It was rebuilt in 1830, and rebuilt in a very plain but rather handsome style. It is of white granite with a fine spire over the crossing. The transepts are, however, at present simply the porch to the East and West Churches. The foundations and arches of the tower are ancient, as is also the north transept, which is being now fitted up as a Chapel for special services. It contains the tomb of the hero-Provost of Aberdeen, who fell at the Battle of Harlaw. Under the Apse of the Church is an ancient crypt, rather fine with old oak. It is St. Mary's Chapel, and I use it for Daily Morning Prayer, which I have been the first to re-introduce into the Church of Scotland.

Fittingly, for my Church was the last to give it up, not much more than a hundred years ago."

Cooper was inducted to the East Church on the Eve of Ascension Day. "Knowing the ways of Presbyteries and their officers (he writes) I went down to the Church in the morning and found that nothing had been done to provide for the proper fulfilment of the sacred rite. The pulpit was where it still is. Immediately in front of it was a wide pew like a horsebox covered with cocoanut matting, with a few common chairs standing about. There was no sign of a Table. I asked the Church Officer where the Communion Table was. His answer was, 'Please, sir, in the West Lobby.' 'What is it doing there?' 'Please, sir, the gentlemen of the Choir put their hats on it.' I said, 'Its proper place is here—help me to bring it in.' I found some handsome chairs in the transepts and brought them also into the Church. At this moment my father entered the Church and great was his disappointment to see that there was neither organ nor lectern, font nor altar, such as we had in St. Stephen's. 'This will mean a great sacrifice to you.' 'We just must have it rectified,' I said. A ridiculous custom, supposed to secure Presbyterian parity among ministers, still, I am afraid, prevails, whereby the most recent ministerial acquisition to the Presbytery is appointed to conduct the Service at the first ordination or induction after his own appointment, and this was observed in what was then regarded by the people of Aberdeen as the most important, as it is legally the first charge, in the city. The service was accordingly entrusted to a young clergyman, the Rev. James Smith of St. George's-in-the-West. At a luncheon which followed . . . in my speech I called Aberdeen the Oxford of Scotland, rather to the alarm of my shrewd uncle, Dr. Cooper, who was not much better pleased at a Congregational Meeting, which filled the Music Hall to overflowing. I arranged my remarks under two heads—the matchless motto of the City, *Bon Accord*, and the famous boast of the Earl Marischal, *They have said—what say they?—let them say*. He said I should not have taken the first word of flyting and reminded me that the words had been spoken over the appropriation of the Abbey of Deer at the Reformation. . . . I had intimated at the evening meeting that on the Thursday I would resume in St. Mary's Chapel, the lower Church of St. Nicholas, which had been turned into the Session House, the old weekly 'exercise' or service

which had been discontinued for the last few years I learned afterwards that one of three elderly ladies, all staunch friends ever afterwards, said: 'This is Ascension Day: I wonder if Mr. Cooper will take any notice of it.' They were not long in suspense; I began by giving out the Psalm, 'Thou hast, O Lord, most glorious, ascended up on high.'

"I was introduced on the following Sunday by Dr. Sprott in an excellent sermon on the Commission to the Church in the last chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Unfortunately, it was inaudible to most. I officiated in the evening, preaching to an immense congregation on the text, 'Who is he that overcometh the World, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God.' I was delighted to find that I could be well heard all over the Church, as I had hoped I should be.

"Two subjects naturally called for enquiry at the outset of my Ministry—those of Public Worship, and the instruction of the young. The former was on the whole satisfactory, the praise having attained a high degree of excellence, due to the careful training given by the precentor, Mr. Alexander Machray, but it gives one an idea of the degradation into which the office of the Chief Musician had fallen in Scotland, that a legal firm had made it a condition of his being taken into partnership, that he should leave the Choir! There was no organ, and Mr. Yeats had told me that in the circumstances of the congregation he could hold out no prospect of getting one. I replied that it was a thing for which we could wait, and indeed Dr. A. K. H. B., the Convener of the Assembly's Psalmody Committee, said it was the only Church in Scotland which could do without one.

"The state of things in regard to the religious instruction of the young was very different. During previous incumbencies three different Sunday Schools had sprung up, and the Ministers, on the ground of not being able to visit them all, had ceased to regard themselves as responsible for any. Latterly they had been combined under the superintendence of one of the elders, Mr. John Alexander. I went to see him at once. 'I hope, sir,' he said, 'you will take an interest in the Sunday School.' 'Take an interest!' I replied, 'I regard the feeding of the lambs of the flock as the first of the three great commissions. I shall be there on Sunday.' I could only go as Minister of the Parish, and

as has been my custom, I appeared in cassock, gown, and bands, and opened proceedings with Divine Service. It was more than the Superintendent had expected and I could see that he was not over well pleased, but the time of the vacation was at hand, and I left things pretty much as they were."

This was on May 21st. Mr. and Mrs. Cooper from Spynie were with their son in Aberdeen for that Sunday, entering with pride and with intense pleasure into all his fresh interests. A few days after their return to their home Mr. Cooper died under the saddest circumstances by the administration of a poisonous drug in mistake for his ordinary tonic, dying before a doctor could reach him. If anything could draw closer the tie between mother and son, this common sorrow had that effect, and something of Cooper's profound and beautiful devotion to his mother had no doubt its root in those days of horrified grief.

The East Church of St. Nicholas had, when Cooper took charge, a large congregation—more than a thousand persons communicated at his first celebration there—but it had not a wealthy congregation. The City rank and fashion gravitated by tradition to that which met for worship in the West Church, the nave of the old St. Nicholas'. The Parish itself was poor and crowded. It was such a parish and such a congregation as should spend much money and cannot easily find much to spend. Its endowment yielded only £300 a year, equally divided between a retired and an active incumbent, and the duty of finding a conceivably adequate income for the latter fell upon the flock. While very substantial sums were raised with remarkable regularity, these were narrowly sufficient for inevitable requirements. There was a considerable expenditure in charity and the care of the poor, and there was a respectable measure of support for Missions and other general purposes of the Church of Scotland. But its domestic and interior finance was always a difficulty. In those matters congregations fall roughly into two categories—of those who do well by themselves and not by others, and of those who do well by others, but are stiff when the demand is one that concerns their own matters. It is possible to be both thrifty and generous ; but thrift is exercised at home and generosity is exercised abroad. Of the two types of congregation, that which is bountiful to others and sparing to self is infinitely to be preferred—nevertheless it presents its own

problems ; and Cooper was never very successful in solving them. He found it easier to give than to ask, and his own power of giving was limited. The organisation which he found in operation at St. Nicholas was quite up to the standard then prevalent ; if one says that it was not complex nor excessive, one says nothing in reproach of the eminent predecessors, who had provided all that was usual and had worked it efficiently enough, so far as it went. No one asked more of them, and when more was given, it was not necessarily welcomed, as Cooper was to find. There were the regulation Morning and Evening Services on Sundays ; I find one allusion to a Prayer Meeting on Wednesdays, " jointly with the West Church " ; there was a Bible Class, a Sunday School, a Choir, a Congregational Library, a Penny Savings Bank ; a " Ladies' Clothing Association " which aimed, however, to clothe, not ladies, as the title might import, but poor persons of the Parish, and there was a Mothers' Meeting. For congregational purposes, as the congregation came from all parts of the city, the city was mapped in districts, to each of which was assigned an Elder and a lady Collector. As the world went then, this was a good deal. In supervising and carrying it on the Minister had an Assistant, a Probationer. There was a Biblewoman. There was, very decidedly, a Kirk session. Besides the Church, there was the venerable crypt of St. Mary's Chapel under the apse of the church. There was also the North Transept of the ancient church (the South Transept and the Crossing, also ancient, were used as a vestibule) on which apparently the East Church had claims—it had been utilised for coal storage, but was at that time apparently empty ; it was and is known as " Collieson's Aisle," from the fact that it contained the burial place and tomb of an ancient family of that name ; and there was also a Parish Room in the Guestrow near the Church. The Parish was not unmanageably large—a census of it taken in 1887 showed a population of 3,302, of whom 1,450 were of the Church of Scotland, 1,350 of other Communions, and 502 of no Church.

The large and scattered congregation however—it numbered some 1,800 Communicants—made the charge a heavy one. Moreover, the Minister of the East Church was expected to take a public position and to be interested in more than his parish.

Cooper had gone to Aberdeen " anxious " (as he says himself " to get an opportunity of putting into practice

certain measures which I believed to be needful for the well-being of the Church, and of all places in Scotland, Aberdeen seemed to me by its traditions and history to offer the most favourable ground for these experiments."

What these measures and experiments were can be learned only from his ministry as he conducted it. At Broughty Ferry he had rearranged his Church so that it bore some witness to the Sacraments ; he had endeavoured to make it seemly and fair to the eye ; he had equipped it with some modest apparatus of Divine Service ; he had observed the Christian Year in its main outlines ; he had secured a more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion, and he had celebrated for the sick in their own homes, while in his teaching he had not shunned to declare what he believed to be the counsel of God in its fulness. He had found there a frank response ; we are told that the congregation of St. Stephen's "idolised" him ; he had left Broughty Ferry amid a chorus of approbation and regret from his flock there, from his Presbytery and from the local press. All this was perfectly well known to those who in the name of the people of East St. Nicholas' invited him to the Pastorate there ; they had visited St. Stephen's and had seen with their eyes and heard with their ears. In accepting their call, he had stipulated that there should be no opposition to a Celebration at least once in each three months. He had every reason to suppose that men's minds were prepared for his continuing in Aberdeen the line of work and teaching which they had found him following at Broughty Ferry, whose power to commend itself on its merits he believed himself to have proved there.

But further—it would be a mistake to think that Cooper's contemplated " measures " had regard only to such matters as have been named, worship, sacrament, doctrine. He had ideas as to pastorate and as to the opportunities, and therefore the duties, of the Ministry. I am afraid that he thought that the clergy took things too easily, followed too much a routine, allowed too much to lapse into disuse, kept too many talents in napkins, and did not make full proof of their ministry. He believed that this was due, at least in part, to an imperfect realisation of the nature of Ministry and of the import of its commission. He desired to see it accepted as a Ministry of Prayer as well as of the Word and Sacraments, and believed that corporate prayer should be made on week days as well as on Sundays. He loved children ;

he was accustomed to say that the charge to feed Christ's lambs had precedence over the charge to feed His sheep; and he desired that responsibility for the pastoral care and for the religious training of children should be acknowledged by the Ministry and should become their personal care and task. He was very keenly interested in the youth of both sexes, and he wished that the Church should be better equipped with some systematic method for their benefit. He believed in the value of fellowship in spiritual culture and service, and saw the scope of the principle as worked out by undenominational associations and societies; and he desired to reclaim it for the Church. This idea was already being mooted by Dr. Charteris through the Church's wider machinery; Cooper in one direction at least anticipated Charteris, and, having the opportunity, began to develop the idea in actual practice.

With such conceptions fermenting in his mind he took up his charge in Aberdeen. As we have seen from his own account he at once entered on his proper relation to the Sunday School organisation, being present at its meetings, conducting its worship, giving instruction, and arranging a fortnightly gathering of the teachers for prayer and for preparation, under his own guidance, of what they were to teach. The staff of teachers which had been twenty-seven, rose at once to fifty-five. The Bible Class became two, for men and for women respectively; the one taught by himself, the other by his assistant. The old "Thursday Sermon" was revived. Daily Morning Service in St. Mary's Chapel was set on foot. "Collieson's Aisle," the North Transept, was set in order for use. Marriages were solemnized there (it being a more evident and accessible place than the Crypt), and a Work Party for Foreign Missions was set going. For Church Music, Congregational Practices were held once a fortnight; a practice for children was conducted weekly by the Assistant. The Assistant was the Rev. Thos. Newbigging Adamson, son of the Minister of Newton. He was Cooper's intimate and trusted friend, more than an Assistant—his counsellor and coadjutor—highly sympathetic to Cooper's ideas, a devoted and able worker, competent and instructed, but without his chief's native caution or *flair* for the possible. Cooper had made it a condition of his going to Aberdeen that Adamson should assist him there, but under all the circumstances one may doubt whether so eager a spirit was likely to be his best adviser.

So much had been accomplished between the Induction in May and the end of 1881. The report for the next year shows the opening of a Mission Service on Sunday Evenings in the Guestrow and of a flourishing Mission Sunday School there with a staff of twenty-five teachers. Two new Bible Classes are added, a Mission Class, and one for lads. A branch of the Young Men's Guild, then newly organised by Dr. Charteris is set on foot "to promote interest in Church Worship and Church work, in Ecclesiastical History and music and also in sound literature and Science." But also there is formed a "Young Women's Guild, named after St. Margaret, the great Queen who did so much for Scotland, and in an age when piety was scarcely deemed possible outside the Cloister, exhibited so bright a pattern of religion in social and domestic life . . . with the triple object of assisting those who join it to live a deeper Spiritual life; enabling its members to give more real and sustained help and support to the clergy in parochial work; and tending to create a bond of sympathy in each other's work, however varied may be the duties of the members." The Mission Sunday School was as a first instalment intrusted to this Guild. A few years later Dr. Charteris obtained the sanction of the General Assembly for a Women's Guild, whose branches are now wide-spread; it was matter of lasting pride to Cooper that his Guild of St. Margaret anticipated this movement and led the way to it. In May, 1884, he described his Guild in the Magazine *Life and Work*, giving in detail its scheme and objects. Besides the Mission Sunday School St. Margaret's Guild provided a choir for the Mission service; it painted and refurnished the Parish room; it conducted a children's work party; and had besides a work party of its own; it visited the sick and cooked for them; it provided a weekly dinner for poor children; and itself it paid for whatever it did. It had its Annual Service on St. Margaret's Day, and had its devotional Manual and its bond of Daily Scripture Reading and agreed prayer. In 1884 it had a membership of eighty-five.

On September 1st Cooper writes to Dr. Sprott: "The Sunday School Services and the Office for the Teachers' Meetings have been very successful. Both children and teachers and some Elders who came as a deputation to see this Sunday School like the Sunday School service immensely; the genteel children are attracted. But I have heard no word about the Christian Year. I told the deputa-

tion which came to St. Stephen's that I observed it, and people seem to accept it as all right. I have in the press a little service for the Meetings of Young Communicants' classes; I shall send you a copy."

During these months Cooper was a good deal occupied with the proceedings of the Church Service Society, which was at the time preparing the Second Edition of *Euchologion*. He had been assumed to its Editorial Committee, and was deeply interested in the Order for the Holy Communion and in the Orders for occasional services. He seems to have been in constant correspondence with Dr. Sprott on this as on other subjects, and sometimes in controversy with him; for Dr. Sprott drew chiefly on the sources of the Reformed Prayer Books, Scottish and Continental, while Cooper leant to the ancient Liturgies and their derivatives. He writes also on another subject: "Aberdeen, 23rd August, 1881: I promised more than a month ago to write to you, as the person in Scotland entitled first of all to be consulted on such a matter—namely, as to the possibility of having, perhaps this year, a retreat for the spiritual benefit of some of us of the Catholic school in the Scottish Ministry. I was at Keir [Mr. Jardine's Parish in Nithsdale] in July, and met there Mr. Campbell of Eastwood. We had many talks on the subject, and, as I said, I was asked to write to you. The idea was that as many as entered into the thing should go and spend a few days, living quietly in the town where the services were to be—attending so many meetings daily, and having the Communion at least once. But all details of course would have to be settled later. . . . Of course we want your own fair opinion; I daresay you could not be less disappointed than the rest of us if you should be compelled to knock the thing on the head in the meantime." Dr. Sprott, one may guess, did not approve, and no more is for the time said of that matter.

In November of the same year he writes to a relative: "I have the most useful and agreeable Assistant I ever had, a Mr. Adamson. He lives in the house with me and keeps me cheerful in many ways. But the work is more than enough for two. Aberdeen was always a High Church town, and many of the traditions of the place are on my side, but of course I have difficulties to contend with and must hasten cautiously." What these difficulties were was soon to appear.

To Dr. Sprott: 21st April, 1882: You will probably be

surprised—but perhaps less so than I was—at the contents of the enclosed document. It seems, however, that the signatories—the least respectable portion and a minority of my Session—have been holding secret conclaves on the subject for some time. I went at once with the document to Professor Milligan, and I offered (because Cæsar's wife should be above suspicion) to resign my appointment as his Secretary.¹ But with his wonted chivalry he will not agree to that. The Presbytery meets on Tuesday at noon, and Dr. Milligan and I would both be much obliged if you could look at the document and let us know what you would recommend. Some parts of the document are frivolous in the extreme, and no part can carry much weight, but such a petition cannot be set aside altogether. The charge of teaching Transubstantiation, although untrue, is a heavy one. . . . I trust that I shall have grace faithfully to witness for the truth, but I desire also to put things as moderately as possible, and I shall not state my views on any points except those before the Presbytery. The agitation has been fanned from without and I know that the great bulk of my people are thoroughly loyal. . . . I hope that the Presbytery will have the courage to defend the Catholic Faith and the liberty of the Clergy. Pray for us.”

“The Document” referred to was a petition to the Presbytery of Aberdeen, signed by eleven out of the twenty-six elders who composed the Session of the East Church. It complained of their Minister's “High Churchism” and general proclivities, of entertaining a desire to change the position of the pulpit, of having used the expression “Christian Altar,” of varying the sequence of acts in public worship, of using a Litany in the Sunday School, of holding Daily Service and of using thereat a prayer desk and a reading desk, of thereby wasting precious time; of giving Communion to the sick; of professing a strong desire to revive the Christian Year; of holding a Christmas service for children, and of practising for it; of preparing for it a “Christmas Office for children”; of intending to have a brass band at the service, though on remonstrance he gave up this intention, and that in this Service Mr. Cooper intoned and the children sang responses, “like an Episcopal Congregation”; that in these proceedings Mr. Cooper had not the sanction of the Session, and that he denied that he required to have it.

¹ Dr. Milligan was to be nominated as Moderator of the ensuing General Assembly.

They had, however, "far more serious and grave complaint" of novel and alien preaching and practice; of magnifying the Sacraments and Ministry, of dilating upon the Virginity of the Mother of our Lord, upon the Saints, the Fathers and Festivals; of teaching in effect and "according to the opinion of many of his hearers" Baptismal Regeneration, Transubstantiation, Apostolic Succession, and ministerial absolution. And they desire the Presbytery to restrain Mr. Cooper in these and the like matters. Such in substance seems to be the content of "the document." It was posted to the Clerk of Presbytery and the petitioners did not appear in its support at the meeting of Court to which it was submitted. Being couched in respectful terms the Presbytery was bound to receive and examine the petition and to deal with it, and it might have dismissed the petition or it might have cited the petitioners to appear and support it. The Presbytery did neither; it appointed a strong committee, including Professors Trail and Milligan, to examine it, to confer with the Kirk Session and with Cooper in order, if possible, to secure an amicable settlement. This Committee reported in July; in a number of the matters of complaint it naturally found nothing to call for notice by the Presbytery; as to the Sunday School, Cooper, reserving all rights, agreed to consult the Session in reorganising its services; as to Communion of the Sick he agreed in future to give notice to the Session of his intention. The report indicated that as to the doctrinal matters referred to in the Petition, some must be left to a Minister's Christian judgment, good taste and sense of proportion, and that as to the more important, Mr. Cooper's assurances and explanations led them to find that there was no need for the Presbytery to go further in the matter. They, however, seriously recommended to Mr. Cooper so to frame his speech and conduct his services that he may not be misunderstood, and to the petitioners that they avoid suspicion and censoriousness. The report (of which the above is a summary) was unanimously adopted and ordered to be intimated to the petitioners and Minister. On the whole it may be thought to have been a fair and proper finding. Cooper had not "hastened cautiously," as he supposed himself to be doing. After all it was not the fault of the Elders of East St. Nicholas' that previous Ministers had left the conduct of the Sunday Schools in their hands. Cooper speaks repeatedly of the great interest which the Session had taken in these; it had a

“committee on Sabbath Schools” with an Elder as Convener—an arrangement which, whether advisable or otherwise, was of some standing; and two of the petitioning Elders were Superintendents of the School. It is comprehensible that they should have felt themselves somewhat abruptly superseded in that responsibility, and this matter of the Sunday Schools seems to have lain at the root of the feeling which led to the whole complaint. As to the other grievances Cooper had used a terminology, which, however correct, was certainly unfamiliar and tended to challenge criticism. No more than that could be said—the content of his teaching was (as appeared later) well within that of the Church’s standards; but it was a pity that even so much as that could be said.

To Dr. Sprott: “2nd May, 1882: Dr. Milligan, properly enough, said he was sorry for the Elders, who must have been much distressed ere they could have signed such a document; he expressed very kindly still greater sympathy with me. I hope that an understanding may be arrived at; I am sure that no large body will leave the Church, but it is quite possible that they will carry the case to the higher Courts. I hope that I shall have grace to confess the truth, at all hazards; nor am I at all inclined to accept such a sort of censure as that ‘I ought to take the Elders *more* into my confidence’ or that in my preaching I should ‘avoid wounding the susceptibilities of my people’—which Mr. Mitchell¹ indicates as his forecast of the Committee’s finding. To-day the objectors did not appear; the whole matter was in private, so no report of it will appear. It seems that for six months an agent of the —— Society has been down here watching me, that he has been closeted with a very vindictive man . . . and that the accusation has been long in preparation, though it came on me entirely unexpectedly.”

In the interval between the presentation of “the document” and the Presbytery’s disposal of it, the General Assembly had met, Dr. Milligan in the chair, Cooper acting as his secretary, or as would now be said, as his Chaplain; he writes to his Mother: “Edinburgh, 5th June, 1882: the Assembly has passed off with great *éclat* and everyone is high in praise of the Moderator. I have been privileged to read, and even in some small details to amend, his speech of to-night, and I am much mistaken if it will not make an impression greater than any Moderator’s address has done

¹ The Rev. J. Mitford Mitchell of West St. Nicholas’, Moderator, 1907.

since Dr. Bisset's.—You will see that if I had been speaking myself I could not have put my own hopes and beliefs more strongly and more clearly. There was an unfortunate decision on Saturday, when Dr. Tulloch spoke 'like a madman' (as the Moderator says) and Dr. Charteris virtually avowed himself an Independent; but the error may yet be retrieved, and Dr. Sprott's testimony was not only faithful in itself, but convincing to all the real theologians in the house. Dr. Mitchell of St. Andrews and Professor M. Taylor of Edinburgh have both adhered to the High Church position. Yesterday I preached in Newington Church in the forenoon and had Professor Flint among my hearers; he spoke to me afterwards about my Aberdeen troubles, and said that my position at the very least was one to be defended."

To Miss Clark.—"11th July, 1882: I am so glad you liked Dr. Milligan's closing Address; I was very proud of him and of it. How far some of those who applauded him understood or agreed with what he said I do not know, but the effect of his utterance is not likely to pass away soon. And those of us who are longing for Reunion in Scotland have been greatly cheered by (I think I may say almost) all the recent utterances of Scottish Episcopalians, who have received Dr. Milligan's words about them in a very cordial manner. When you come North I must show you another new book in which I am much interested, Dr. Sprott's *Lectures on the Public Worship of the Church of Scotland*. It is not only very learned and very devout, but remarkably well written and full of amusing anecdotes. It is commanding a large circulation in Scotland and is well worth reading. I have myself had a little trouble: a few of my Elders complained of me to the Presbytery for general 'High Churchism,' but it has all ended satisfactorily. The complaint was dismissed, my doctrine declared to be sound, and—one great gain—the lawfulness of giving the Holy Communion to the Sick declared with all the emphasis the Presbytery could give it. The *Congregation* have been with me all along, so I think the little trouble is fairly settled."

In this, however, Cooper proved mistaken. To the same correspondent he writes a little later—"26th September, 1882: You will be sorry to hear that 'my case' has entered on a new stage, and one of which it is impossible for anyone to see the end. I shall send you a newspaper with the report of to-day's proceedings: I only explain—that it is

the certain law of the Church that a Presbytery cannot reverse a decision arrived at on a former meeting. To-day a deputation of the Eleven Elders came up and gave in a document reflecting upon the Presbytery's former decision, and supported their criticism by certain new allegations. But when asked, they said they made no new charges. If they had made new charges against me the matter could have been taken up, but in that case they were liable to severe censure for not having sent me a copy of those charges beforehand. On the other hand, it was incompetent for the Presbytery to reopen its former decision. I have no objection of course to any investigation that can be made; it can serve only to publish more widely the truths to which it has been given me to witness, and which I believe alone can save our Church, as they have revived the Church of England. But I do object to plain injustice, and not to know when my case is done with. For plainly, if they can reopen it once, they may reopen it a hundred times, and I be kept all my life in a fever of excitement. So Dr. Milligan, Mr. Calder and I have appealed to the Synod against the *policy* judgment of a majority of the Synod [Presbytery] that a presbyterial Committee be appointed to confer with the Eleven and with me—on what points I know not.

“Dr. Pusey has gone to his reward; my thoughts of course have been full of him, for I have looked to him as a Master for many years; even when I could not agree with him, I could not help venerating, as who could? It is rather singular that one of the complainers to-day witnessed to his influence having penetrated into our Church.

“Our classes, etc., are doing famously. I have now eighty lads, and Mr. Adamson eighty-five girls. His Guild is scarcely yet fairly started, but promises well; the Sunday School continues to grow, and the Mission in the Guestrow is so successful that the Dissenters, who have had the field too much to themselves, are up in arms. I shall have all the wasps in Aberdeen about me, but I must try not to be discouraged by their stings. My Mother is wonderfully well, but she and my aunts are particularly sensitive to the notoriety this ‘case’ is giving me. However, they thoroughly sympathise with me, which is a great comfort. Dr. Milligan is entirely with me.”

What had happened was that the eleven signatories of the previous petition had now submitted to the Presbytery what they called a Minute, in which the previous decision of

the Presbytery was criticised as minimising their grounds of complaint, dwelling on minor points as if the more important, and refusing to regard the cumulative effect of the whole; indicating also a possible secession from the Congregation. They also now complained of a paragraph in the East Church Parish Magazine as to the Baptism of dying infants, and of a correspondence about this between Mr. Cooper and one of their number, and again with reference to his promise to co-operate with the Session as to Sunday School arrangements, and of a general attitude of prerogative and "priestly" authority. This second "document" was not a petition, but was the record of the private meeting of individuals, and in strictness it might have been asked what reason the Court had for taking cognisance of it, and in any case, whether its terms were such that it should be received. A Church Court, however, under our system has (as a Bishop has—for the Presbytery is Episcopate in Commission) a pastoral as well as a disciplinary and judicial function; it must administer the law, but it must also have regard to the peace and well-being of the flock—and these functions are not always easily reconciled. The Bishop may have a Court to which legal questions can be referred, while he reserves the pastoral and disciplinary for himself personally—but the Presbytery is the Court as well as the Executive. The result in its decisions can sometimes be hardly other than a compromise between strict application of law and regard for the expedient, and this compromise may not always be satisfactory to either party in a case. In this case the Presbytery did examine the "Minute," called the signatories to their bar, heard what they had to say, and resolved to serve Cooper with a copy of the Minute and to hear at next Meeting any explanation which he might make. Professor Milligan, Cooper and another complained to the Synod on the ground that the matter was *res judicata*. The Synod at its meeting in October sustained the complaint, but also quashed the proceedings of the Presbytery on July 4th on the ground that the petitioners had not been cited to support their petition, and directed the Presbytery to reopen the whole case, including the minute and correspondence submitted in September. No complaint or appeal was taken. The Presbytery cited the petitioners to their meeting in December, placed the papers in the case in Mr. Cooper's hands and gave him notice to prepare a statement on their subject-matter. At this December meeting Cooper made his

statement and the petitioners were heard, and the Presbytery resolved to pronounce judgment in January. At the January Meeting the petitioners submitted a fresh minute in answer to Cooper's statement, repeating their general complaint and refusing to withdraw any part of it, and repeating that which referred to his non-recognition of the Session in his parochial arrangements, to which was now added his institution of Guilds without their sanction and of the Mission Sunday School likewise; renewing their Doctrinal accusations, especially as to the content of the Holy Communion, Baptismal regeneration, Apostolic Succession and Ministerial absolution. They felt aggrieved also that Mr. Cooper should require that, if doctrinal charges were made against him, it should be done by way of libel—that is, so formally that a trial at bar would be involved and a judgment obtained. The Presbytery seems to have thereupon delayed the matter of a finding for another month, and to have required from Cooper a further statement. At the February Meeting of the Court, Cooper read another lengthy paper, dealing with every detail of the complaints made. After some discussion the Presbytery adjourned for a week, and on meeting again rejected a deliverance on the lines of its original finding of the previous July, and instead recognised that the Elders had colourable grounds for complaining, enjoined Mr. Cooper to be careful in discharging his Ministry not to give occasion for the suspicion that his opinions and practices were not in thorough accordance with the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. The minority who were in favour of the milder deliverance included Professors Trail and Milligan, Mr. Mitford Mitchell, Mr. C. C. McDonald of St. Clement's, Mr. Calder of Old Machar, and Mr. Smith of St. George's, not the least weighty members of the Court. No complaint was made or appeal taken, and so "the case" took end. The deliverance amounted no doubt to a censure; but it was censure, not of Cooper's doctrine or practice, but of his manner of propounding his doctrine and of introducing his practice. The severity of the censure implied would depend on the sense given to the word "colourable," which does not usually convey the idea of substantial ground for allegation of grievance. It had been easy for Cooper in his statements to show that his language as to the Sacraments and Ministry was covered by that of the standards of the Church and that he stood in a tradition classical in its history. As to the form of general absolution which

he had used in the Communion Service, he had been able to quote from the *Practice of the Lord's Supper as used in Berwick by John Knox*, a formula almost identical with that used by himself :—" Thereafter ought the Minister openly to pronounce such as unfeignedly repent and believe in Jesus Christ, to be absolved from all damnation and to stand in the favour of God." No one suggested—every one deprecated—the idea that ground existed for proceeding against him as to his doctrine or teaching. Nothing that he had done was condemned or forbidden. He had withdrawn no phrase ; he had apologised for no opinion. At the same time he found himself officially reprovèd for incaution, precipitance and, as was implied, for lack of consideration in some at least of his pastoral relations ; and that, whether or no it was, as he thought it, a " policy vote," was no doubt galling to a man of conscience and spirit. His letters of the time shew that he felt it acutely. On the other hand, as he recognised, he had recalled the Church's attention to aspects of its teaching which were in danger of passing from recollection ; he had elicited emphatic repudiation of Zwinglianism ; he had vindicated a place for his school of thought within the Church's ambit. He had lost nothing of his personal acceptability. He had received addresses of confidence from the majority of his Session and from a large proportion of his Sunday School teachers ; his Communion roll was increased ; the press had on the whole been favourable to him, and certainly not over-commendatory of his accusers. Not only " the case " was ended, but the opposition which gave rise to it ceased thenceforth to be overt—ceased perhaps to exist ; I do not find much trace of active opposition in later years unless in one matter, of Easter Communion, and that was speedily conceded. There is mention too, a few weeks later, of the opening of a " schismatic " Sunday School by two of the petitioners, an irregularity of which he wisely took no notice. And there was some to do as to the placing of an organ : otherwise there was peace. His organisations developed without hindrance ; his popularity and his influence increased continuously. At the same time he had suffered—some things could no longer be looked for ; the interior arrangement of the East Church, for example, remained to the end of his incumbency unimproved.

To Miss Clark : " 1st February, 1883 : Thanks for your kind interest in my ' case.' I shall certainly send you all

the papers which record it. . . . The Elders have been well advised and their last Minute throws upon the Presbytery the responsibility of deciding whether they (the Presbytery) will or will not libel me. The law says that if the Presbytery is satisfied 'on enquiry' that there are no grounds for a libel, they are not bound to prosecute. My statement will be in order to satisfy them, and in all probability their decision will be that they see no grounds for instituting a libel. The Eleven might libel themselves, but fear the expense. However, they are now parties and can appeal to the Synod and thence to the General Assembly to compel the Presbytery to prosecute. Neither of the Superior Courts is at all likely to do so, but of course the appeals will hang up the case. On that ground I am very sorry, for it will involve no end of worry, and probably considerable expense to me (for I now have a lawyer) but my people are every day more decidedly with me, and the ventilation of the questions cannot but do good, at least in the long run. The eleven will certainly not like my statement, but I think it will show the public very clearly that my doctrines are neither unreasonable nor contrary to my ordination vows. The work of the parish is thriving wonderfully. Mr. Adamson has made great progress with his Guestrow Mission, and both his class and mine are now very large." By the end of that year the Roll of Communicants attached to the East Church, which had comprised 1,535 names at the time of his induction and 1,596 in 1882, had risen to 1,658. The Aberdeen public had assuredly not lost confidence in him or sympathy with his work. By 1885 he had 1,848 Communicants; and in successive years the Roll reached 1,971, 2,058, 2,235, 2,280. After 1890 his reports do not give figures on this subject; but those which had been quoted speak for themselves.

If Cooper felt some natural chagrin as to the decision in his case, he did not allow himself to be discouraged by it. Within a few weeks of its pronouncement he was observing the Week before Easter with daily services, and with double services on its Wednesday and on Good Friday. It was not till the following year that John MacLeod began the same Commemoration at Govan. And in that summer he transferred his daily service (for the summer months) from St. Mary's Chapel in the crypt, to which the entrance from Correction Wynd was obscure, to the North Transept (Collieson's Aisle) which lies open and in face of the great entrance under the Tower of the Church, inviting the passer-

by as the other could not. The same summer he celebrated Holy Communion in the Guestrow Mission for the first time, and notes this in his list of engagements with a *Laus Deo*. For these Guestrow Mission people were of the aged and of the poorest of his flock. His interest in the revival of *Euchologion* gave him occupation, and he was a member of the Committee of Assembly which added to the Church's apparatus the precious gift of the Scottish Hymnal.

To Dr. Sprott: "6th February, 1883: Allow me in the first place to thank you for your kind and most useful letter. I followed, I think, nearly all of its suggestions, which were decided improvements. Dr. Trail objected as you did to the part of my sermon on the priesthood of all Christians as going too near Congregationalism, so I left it out without regret. Unfortunately, Dr. Trail, *who is to support me* on Tuesday week, urged me to leave out the quotations from our Old Confession [1560] on the ground that it would be difficult to persuade the Presbytery of its authority. I was rather unwilling to agree to this, but it was important to have his approval, and the omission did not leave my doctrinal statement defective. My statement was remarkably well received; so much so that Mr. Jamieson, who had a violent Puritan speech and motion, suppressed both, and we have no expectation now that there will be any real opposition. C.C. [Macdonald's] speech was splendid. He does not believe the doctrine, but (or rather therefore) he has no hesitation in stating very strongly what the doctrine of the Church is. His motion is not consistent with his speech; I hope to have it modified a little, but I shall certainly not appeal upon it. The debate is adjourned to this day week. What the Elders will do of course we do not know. Those of them who were present looked very black, and Mr. — some days ago said he would appeal to the Synod to force the Presbytery to libel. But he may save his money for some more profitable investment."

To Dr. Sprott: "17th May, 1883: I have often spoken to you about getting up a Scottish Reconciliation Society, but of course it was necessary that my own record should be clear ere I took any active steps. Since my case was settled I have again been in communication with Mr. Winterbotham of Fraserburgh and Mr. Danson. The former and I between us have drawn up the enclosed 'suggested circular.' Our idea was to get two clergymen of the Church of Scotland, two Episcopalians, and (possibly) some Free

Churchmen to sign it. . . . Then, after getting say some twenty names, we could fairly go to the dignitaries of the different communions, and then arrange for a meeting.

"Several reasons occur to me as strongly requiring us to take some such action now:—

"(1) The clamant need of reunion. Orthodoxy will vanish from our people, if the present state of matters continues.

"(2) The moment is favourable for approaching Episcopalians. They are learning the need of Presbytery to supplement Episcopacy. The new Primate¹ said last week to Dr. Milligan (this is private) that he is quite prepared to acknowledge the orders of our Church, only for the future we would need a modified Episcopacy.

"(3) It is not too late to save the Establishment, etc. But if it is to be saved, the Church must receive great accessions forthwith.

"(4) The dreadful and growing evil of the alienation of the upper classes from the National Church.

"(5) The presence among ourselves of an Anti-Catholic element.

"(6) If people could only hope that a union with Episcopalians was possible on a fair basis, it would be immensely popular. Whereas so long as the avenue seems shut in that direction, men will inevitably try for union in other directions, at the expense of all that remains of Catholic doctrine and practice in the Church.

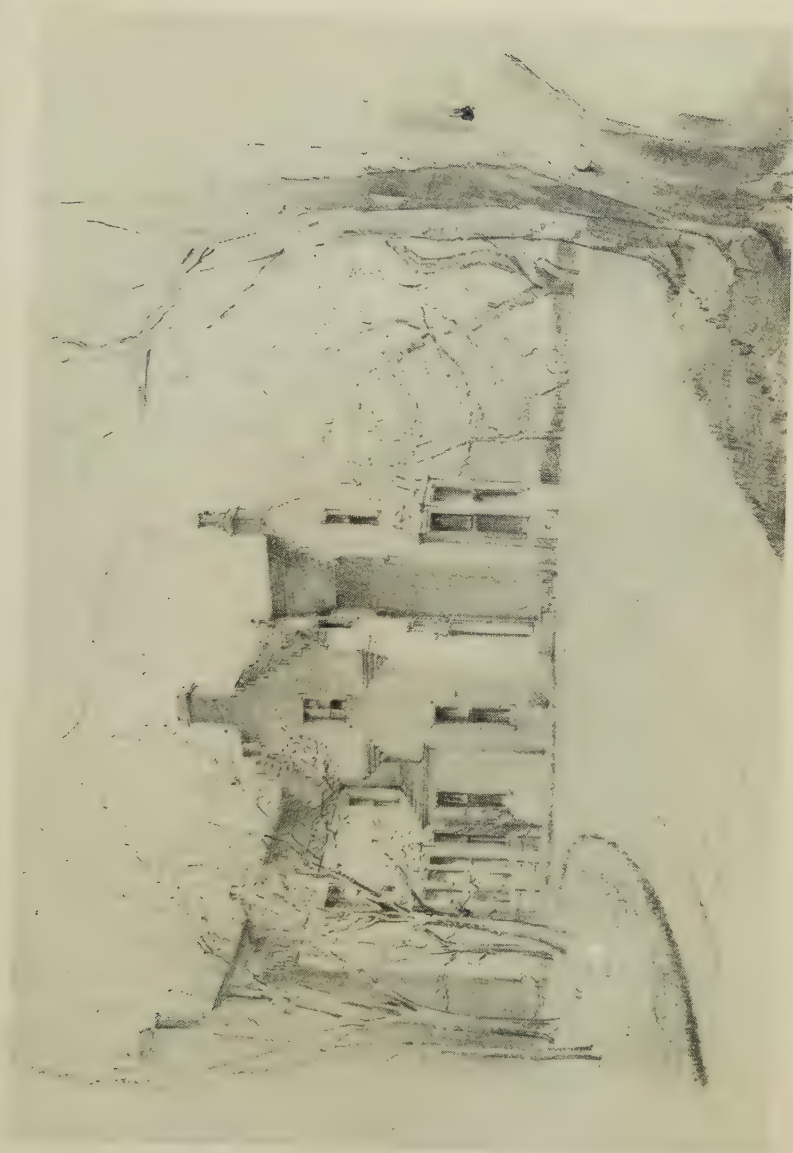
"Perhaps you may not think our scheme good, but we are not wedded to details. You will observe that we leave each member quite free to hold his own doctrine and hope as to how the existing Divisions may be healed. Would you be willing to be one of the signatories to [the] document?" Dr. Sprott's reply has not been preserved. It was probably unfavourable, for no further mention of the subject occurs; the idea was left for revival from the Episcopal side in 1901-1904, when the present Christian Unity Association was formed.

Cooper, however, was on that subject indefatigable. In October he writes to Sprott again: "Mrs. Duff-Dunbar of Achergill Tower, Caithness, a granddaughter of Duff of Hatton, was introduced to me lately by Dean Ranken. . . . I enclose two letters from her which speak for themselves. Dr. Milligan thinks her request for a Prayer Union should

¹ The Rt. Rev. Edward White Benson, D.D.

be acceded to. It would be conducted on the simplest principles, and would confine itself to common prayer that God in His good time would lead us to the healing of our divisions. A tract would be printed with a verse of *Psa. cxxii*, two prayers for unity and the Lord's Prayer. This tract would be given by those already in sympathy to all such as might discover themselves to be in sympathy with these ends, of whatever denomination. No promise would be exacted beyond the promise daily to use the prayers. No attempt would be made to attract outsiders, only the names of those who undertook to pray would be kept perhaps by Mrs. Duff herself. Dr. Milligan, Mr. Brebner of Forgue, Mr. Marshall of Caputh, Mr. Duncan of Mary-Culter and I would join at once; if you would adhere, I would have the leaflets printed and the union would be started. Do you approve? " Sprott seems to have approved the Prayer Union. I have a copy of its leaflet of devotions.

References to the interests of Reunion recur frequently in this correspondence:—" May 7th : Dr. Milligan will tell you all about the Primate, and how interested he is in our Church. I expected as much. He believes in Presbytery as well as in prelates." " June 13th : Dr. Milligan has again been in London co-operating with the English Churchmen in protest against the Sister's Marriage Bill. We are again united in holding that no Civil Act can make that legal. Dr. M. had another most satisfactory interview with the Primate, and is profoundly impressed with the strong wish for reunion with us which was manifested by the Churchmen of England whom he met. It is the fruit of fifty years' teaching of the sinfulness of schism, and of the hundred and seventy years' experience of their need of the autonomy which we have retained. I believe that if our people could once understand that England desires union, they would prefer that to any other alliance." " 19th July : I am so glad that you have gathered hope from your visit to the Primate : I am longing to see you, and think it important that you should have an interview with Dr. Milligan ere long."



SPYNE FARM HOUSE

From a pencil sketch, about 1892, by Charles Cornwall

CHAPTER VI

CHURCH ACTIVITIES

THE following year, 1884, passed quietly enough. We hear for the first time of a scheme for "Parish Buildings," which seems to have resulted only in some improvement and extension of the Guestrow Parish Room. In the course of the summer a new (temporary) place of worship was opened at Barnhill near Broughty Ferry, and Adamson, Cooper's much loved and trusted Assistant, was appointed first Minister. Barnhill at that time promised to develop as a residential district—a promise which was scarcely realised. Cooper's holiday was spent mainly in a visit to Elgin and in a circuit of the extreme Northern coast, which was new to him. "Elgin, Sunday, July 20th: Admirable sermon from Robert Macpherson in forenoon on *Communion with God*. . . . The East end of the Church, formerly graceful, is entirely disfigured by the organ and pulpit, which latter looks like a large bath." Cooper could not endure the placing of organs in churches as the central object of view, nor the bracketing of pulpits as an accessory among their blaze of pipes. An organ is after all only a piece of machinery, a "Kist o' Whistles," and singularly inappropriate to the principal position in the House of Prayer; and even he, devoid as he was of the musical sense, seems to have been conscious of the misery and humiliation of being nested against its bulk and deafened by its too intimate resonance. An organ may be useful, but it is nothing of which to be proud. "Tain, 22nd July: Noble old Tower and ancient Church; on foot to Meikle Ferry; across; then on foot to Dornoch—official city. Cathedral restored out of recognition, not for the glory of God, but of Sutherland family; statue of the Duke, where the High Altar was. These be Thy Gods, O Israel." "23rd July: Splendid drive along Loch Shin. Duke's improvements; magnificent mountain peaks, Ben Clibrach, Ben More . . .

after Laxford, steep rocks with boulders on every crest, seemingly the end of the earth." "July 24th: Walked to Cape Wrath, twenty-six miles: scarcely fatigued. Old Church of Deerness with epitaph of bard of seventeenth century, and fine font lying shamefully neglected." "July 26th: Coach to Thurso: Farr: Reay: Orkneys in sight: Alpine auricula: Lovely day, Thurso Castle; old clergyman at dinner full of Disruption recollections."

"July 28th: Left Thurso at 12-25 a.m., train reaching Elgin at 4. Moray coast lovely from Helmsdale. Splendour of Dunrobin; noisy excursionists." "Trip cost a little over £7. Well worth it."

In October Mr. Adamson's place as his assistant was filled by the Rev. R. W. Wallace, son of the Minister of Traquhair, and now of St. Leonard's (St. Andrews). In the same month the Seabury Centenary was observed at Aberdeen with much circumstance. It brought from America the Bishops of Connecticut and Minnesota and Albany, and from England such men as the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne), Canon Body, Canon Hole, Canon Gregory, S. F. Green and Lord Nelson, the constant advocate of Reunion, with whom Cooper formed a lasting friendship. Cooper was present at the various meetings connected with the celebration, among them that of the Free and Open Churches Association, which he specially notes, and greatly enjoyed the opportunity of meeting the guests whom it gathered to the Granite City. A little later he was much occupied in organising a welcome to the Church of Scotland Guild Conference, which met that year in Aberdeen and obtained for me the pleasure of being entertained by him. I had not met him before; I had seen him and had heard him speak in the General Assembly during the time he was at St. Stephen's, but I should not have recognised him, for at that time he wore an unusually heavy moustache, and now was clean shaven and much as he remained to the end. Shortly before, he had removed to a house within his Parish bounds—a matter of which he at the first opportunity made a duty; but there were not many suitable houses in the East Parish, and this was a derelict banking house in Castle Street. One entered through the former counting-house, which he had turned into a Chapel and Mission Room and which he called St. Ninian's, using it in various ways for the needs of the district lying towards the Harbour—where also, he told me, he celebrated occasionally at a later hour than is usual, for the benefit of



THE STUDY, BANK HOUSE, 35 CASTLE STREET, ABERDEEN

invalids and aged persons; for some of them cabs used to be sent. Out of this a staircase led to the upper regions, which he inhabited. I had no doubt heard something of him and of his "case"—not much, for we in the colliery regions had little time for newspaper reading; the Church of Scotland has no press of its own apart from official periodicals, and these very properly avoid such things as "cases"; and Church gossip did not actively interest us. Now that I met him, I was impressed chiefly by his personal charm, quaint ceremoniousness, and exceeding hospitality. At the beginning of the Conference he was the mouthpiece of the City's greeting to the Guildsmen who were gathered in the large Music Hall, and across all these years I remember how gracefully he expressed that welcome, but still more I remember the welcome which he himself received from the crowded audience. Evidently James Cooper was very cordially regarded by the Aberdeen public. Next morning we attended his daily service, and he showed me what remains of the old St. Nicholas'; the transept chapel, and the crypt, St. Mary's, still unrestored, a huddle of fine old carved oak benches and panelling, and, if I remember, a pulpit of the same fashion. As the winter season came round, one finds in his diary notes which point to a growing burden of work, the addition to his staff of a "Student Missionary," and to his parish routine of a second evening Mission Service and of a weekly Mothers' Meeting in St. Ninian's.

His correspondence with Dr. Sprott is continued, dealing very much with the affairs of the Church Service Society, for which he proposes as members Mr. Andrew Williamson of St. Cuthbert's and Mr. Adamson of St. Margaret's, Barnhill—with the Disestablishment Bill of Mr. Dick Peddie—with a long desired visit on Dr. Sprott's part to Aberdeen—and other matters, among them Dr. Milligan's candidature for the Principalship of the University, which Cooper did his best to promote, enlisting for it the interest of, among others, Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews with the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

"March 11th, 1885: At Edinburgh lately I heard Dr. H. Wallis Smith speaking about an overture on Sunday School work, and I suggested that instead of having an Education Committee with only the Training Colleges to look after, and a Sunday School Committee nibbling at a little part of a great subject, we should have one great Committee on Religious Instruction, with a commission to attend to the

whole question. What think you? Dr. Milligan favours the idea." The idea has at last been carried out, a generation after Cooper suggested it.

"27th March: I am glad you approve of my proposed overture on a Committee on Religious Instruction. At present the greater part of the subject is not brought before the Church at all, and another danger threatens, viz., that the Life and Work Committee lay hands on the Bible Classes, and thus lay the whole youth of the Church at the feet of Dr. Charteris, who, by the way, has also got the management of the Committee on Aids to Devotion."

"25th April: You left something of more value than the sponge. I find your Sermon in the Pulpit Bible on Sunday when I went to put mine in. It would certainly have been for the people's benefit had I preached your one over again, and I would have done so, had I had courage enough to break through conventionalities. I wish you would print a small volume of Sermons on doctrinal subjects; we are needing plain and thoughtful and careful expositions. I am sure too that small volumes, containing say from sixteen to twenty sermons each, published at 1s. 6d. or 2s. would pay both writer and publisher. They could do a great deal to promote the good cause. I was thinking of printing a Lent series that I have on 'Some Humiliations of our Lord'; but my style is not nearly so exact as yours, and I have difficulty in finding time for the task of such extensive correcting as would be needful. I am convinced that we must make far more use of the press than we have yet done, if we are to leaven our people with Catholic doctrine.

"The Tracts sent down by the Church Interests Committee are worse than the form of Petition. Think of saying that the Church *succeeded* to the Tithes at the Reformation! as if she succeeded to herself! One would rather be dis-established than admit that we are only the creature of 1560. I suppose it is Dr. Tulloch's Whiggism—or is it the arid worldly and Erastian temper of the old Moderates?—that rests our Church's claims rather on the lowest grounds than on the highest. It is anyhow a profound mistake. A Church which does not appeal to religion has lost faith in herself as well as in God and does but prove that she is unworthy of support."

"1st May, 1885: Lord Aberdeen, I see, has carried his proposal for Church Union in Scotland to the public, and

says that 'given a real wish for Union,' his plan should succeed. His experience might have taught him that among the dissenting leaders there exists no such wish."

"The Congregationalists have been having their annual meetings this year at Aberdeen; one of the speakers complained that 'Protestantism' had carried individualism to excess and that 'solidarity' was needed. It is none the less an excellent witness to the truth of the Holy Catholic Church that it comes from such a quarter."

"May 18th: I am to preach at St. George's on the afternoon of the 31st. I don't know why Dr. Scott was so persistent; I declined for the 24th, because I don't like to be from home on Pentecost, and I could not refuse the second time. I am to be his guest on the Sunday. Of course I shall preach on the Trinity."

The year 1886 began with the formation of two new Societies—a "Ministers' Club for Aberdeen (Church of Scotland) got up by Professor Milligan, opened in my 'Office,' 3-5," of which there is no further record; and the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society. This latter furnished to Cooper one of the greatest and one of the proudest and most cherished interests of his life. Its direct purposes lay of course very much to his heart—he "loved the habitation of God's House," as the place where God's honour dwells; but he was perhaps even more concerned with the possible usefulness of such a Society in giving a common ground to Christian folks of different communions. Conciliation as a step to reunion was always in his mind, and throughout governed his activity in the affairs of this new organisation. The Aberdeen example was followed by Glasgow in 1893, and by Edinburgh in 1903, the three local societies being then united as branches of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, which is now, I believe, the largest society of the kind in existence. Cooper's services to it were unwearied, and his labour in contributing to its transactions and in journeying to its meetings and excursions was indefatigable. There is a note of its formation in his engagements diary—"January 13th: Ecclesiological Society formed (Kelly, J. Watt, C. Carmichael, self—Dr. Milligan approving Constitution and objects)."

To Dr. Spratt: "January 25th, 1886: Will you bless the Society which sends to you the draft of its rules enclosed? It is some young architects and divines who *want to learn*, and, according to the scholastic motto, to teach

that they may learn. Dr. Milligan has given his approval; will you also give a word of encouragement? I was at Govan on Sunday, and like you was immensely delighted with the arrangement of the Church and the demeanour, at once intelligent, hearty and reverent, of the worshippers. . . . When a Church is rightly arranged, the whole service takes its proper place, and its meaning is made apparent to all. Men feel they have come to worship God and hear His message."

"To-day our Presbytery's Committee on Church interests discussed Mr. Finlay's Bill. I found our Broad men, who *are* Erastian, prepared to swallow it exactly as it is. While I had to protest against legislation on Church matters without the Assembly's approval, and against giving Church Courts the power to depose, subject to no review by the Civil Courts even in the matter of process! But we have adjourned the discussion, and will probably do nothing. P.S.—A craze for Church reform and reunion is our present danger."

The Church of Scotland was now engaged in defence against Disestablishment, and the clergy were enjoined to preach upon the subject. Cooper did so, maintaining the duty of the State, not merely to "recognise religion" but to confess and support the Church; and interpreting the secularisation of the teinds or tithes as sacrilegious. He raises a point of interest which was not usually introduced into the discourses of that campaign, namely that right of the State *circa sacra*, which the Confession of Faith not only admits but asserts, and held forth the propriety with which Parliament might call on the Church to re-examine the position created by the incidents of 1690-92 and of 1843, with a view to its putting forward what he calls "proposals, fair to all Scotland." Scotland to his mind included the remnant which was outed at the Revolution, without which our Church could not be perfected, and which, as well as the Disruption claimants, should be considered in what was to be held "fair."

The year before Cooper had initiated a scheme to place an organ in his Church, and as that took shape, it brought some fresh anxiety, since some of his session and no doubt of his congregation as well, desired to have it erected where they could see as well as hear it. Cooper would not have his Church turned into the semblance of a Music Hall; he told me afterwards that he would, had this been done, have

resigned his Charge. The ultimate decision, however, lay with the Town Council as custodians of the fabric, and fortunately for every one that body took Cooper's way of it. The occasion seems to have been taken for some adornment of the Church in its other furnishings and for gifts which added to its seemliness.

To Dr. Sprott: "9th February, 1886: I shall speak to Dr. Milligan on the points you mention. He has hitherto strongly opposed a Royal Commission, at least in the first instance. After the Assembly has anything to recommend, a Royal Commission might enquire whether or not the Assembly's proposals are fair to all Scotland or likely to meet the necessities of the case. But for the Assembly to take its lesson from a Royal Commission would be a little too absurd. And think of the scandal of M.P.s hearing Dr. Rainy and Dr. MacGregor on the Headship of Christ!

"Have you got a circular from Bishop Wordsworth about republishing his Charges, etc., on Reunion? I wrote to the Bishop warmly thanking him, and suggesting that he might emphasise the fact of the reluctance of large parts of Scotland to accept the Covenant.

"My organ is more than a possibility—now. I am engaged in what I think will be a successful effort to keep it out of the apse. I shall keep it out, but I hope to do so without an open rupture with anyone.

"The Presbytery discussed to-day the Endowment Scheme. We have too many new Parishes. Rather let us have real colleges of Clergy at important points, with effective stations. A new departure in this scheme is absolutely necessary.

"Our Ecclesiological Society was opened by me with a paper on 'Reasonable Service.'"

In February of this year Cooper preached and published a notable sermon on the Reconstruction of the Scottish Church—an argument for a union broader than the Presbyterian coalescence to which the efforts of the General Assembly and of some publicists, as Mr. Finlay,¹ had been so far directed. It is a pronouncement which would be still germane to the question as happily that is now viewed. After statement of the general grounds on which schism is to be condemned and unity demanded, he denounced the flimsiness of the pretexts on which past and present divisions

¹ Afterwards Viscount Finlay, Lord Chancellor, 1916-1919; at that time M.P. for Inverness Burghs.

were justified, and claimed the name of Christian for all the separate parties. "Nothing which looked ultimately for less than the complete and corporate reunion in truth and peace of the whole body of Christ's visible Church ought to approve itself to any Christian," and by the test of conformity to that aim lesser movements should be judged. "Would the proposed reunion be a step towards a truly catholic reunion of the whole body of Christ on earth, or would it only create a more powerful sect, cut off by a sharper demarcation than before from the rest of Christendom?" Tried by this test, he doubted of the existing scheme for reconstructions, which limited themselves to a merely Scottish outlook—nay, they were not so much as National, but were merely Presbyterian, and would rather aggravate the existing breaches with other branches of the Church. Even looking to Scotland only, the Episcopal part of the community should be considered. "A right reunion must go on ancient lines." They should ask for the old paths. By these he meant, not the lazy traditions of sixty years before, nor the fierce traditions of the sixteenth century, nor the superstitions of the middle ages, but the usages of the primitive Church in the first four centuries. If they did, they would find much of what we cherished in our own Church, much which it would be well for Episcopalians to go back to. . . . But it was none the less true that we had suffered as well as gained by our peculiarities; and that for profitable reconstruction we must be prepared to have these carefully examined in the light of the original institution of the Church. . . . We must be candid, fair to our opponents, fair to ourselves, fair above all to the institution of our Lord and His apostles. We must be ready to learn and to forget.

To Mrs. Cooper, Spynie: "22nd February, 1886: You will have read by this time my Sermon of yesterday forenoon. I had long wished to say what I did say, and the time seemed to have come for speaking out. . . . The presence of Bishop Wordsworth in Aberdeen was also a coincidence. Still, I never felt before going into the pulpit that I had so bold a thing to say, and I was (and am) nervous over it. All that I have heard is most encouraging. Some of my own Elders urge me to publish it. . . . I called on the Bishop of St. Andrews to-day at his own request. He told me some interesting things about his relations with Mr. Gladstone, whose College tutor he was. When Mr. Gladstone was

elected M.P. for Newark (as a Tory) the poet Wordsworth, the Bishop's Uncle, met his father, old Sir John Gladstone, at a dinner party at Liverpool and felicitated him on the great political promise of his son. 'Yes,' replied Sir John, 'he has very great ability, but he has no stability,' a singular case of parental insight. Our conversation was, however, chiefly on Church matters, and I was warmly thanked for my sermon, as I was also in the course of the afternoon by the Bishop of Aberdeen, and by one of our own Clergy. I am to dine to-night at Dr. Milligan's to meet Bishop Wordsworth again. My mind is very full of all this, and I can scarcely write on other affairs. You know how long and ardently I have thought of these things. The realization of my thoughts may be different when it comes from my present expectations, but come it will. And I don't quite despair of the Free Church either, which has a great past, and still claims in its fall some tokens of nobility."

To Dr. Sprott: "1st March: I cannot tell you how glad I was to find that you approved of my sermon. I thought I was doing something very bold, if not rash, and that Dr. Milligan and you would think I was wrong, but I have got nothing but approval, and I find that, in Aberdeen at any rate, many laymen are delighted with what I said. One gentleman has ordered fifty copies when it comes out. . . . Dr. Charteris wrote to Bishop Wordsworth thanking him for republishing, and putting down his name for copies; he rides on the top of the wave, so perhaps indicates how the tide is setting. His Committee is to give us deaconesses (this is private) but I want your advice about it. You have heard that the Presbytery of Edinburgh are to ordain George Milligan without induction. Mr. Cowan wrote me for precedents, etc. I sent him the *Jus Divinum*, which shews the limits of their objection to a *vagum ministerium*. So here again we have a new gain in the way of elasticity." His doubt on the subject of deaconesses must have been resolved, for in later days he was accustomed to claim that only such as he had himself "set apart" according to the order contained in the *Apostolic Constitutions*¹ were proper Deaconesses.

To the same: "July 25th: Look at the enclosed. It is communicated by an Irish Clergyman of the Episcopal Church through Lord Nelson to a respectable English Church newspaper, *Church Bells*, and appeared a week or two since.²

¹ VIII, xix, xx.

² The author of the article was the Rev. Chas. Scott, M.A.

I had just time, passing through Aberdeen, to glance at the paper, and I left instructions with Mr. Wallace to take it to Dr. Milligan. But Dr. Milligan is away bishoping in the West Highlands, and I have not his opinion of the scheme. It seems plain that it ought not to be allowed to drop without any notice, so I wrote Lord Nelson saying that I had observed it, and would bring it under Dr. Milligan's notice and yours ; that for my part I was inclined to approve of it, and asking him if he could ascertain how the English Bishops, and especially the Primate, would take their Scottish brethren going into such an arrangement. I have also written to the Bishop of St. Andrews, calling his attention to the proposal. It seems to me that the Scottish bishops have the matter in their own hands, for if they made some such proposal, the Assembly, which opened all the Parishes of the Church to Dissenting Presbyterian Ministers, could scarcely refuse the request. There is plenty of time for conference and deliberation before the season arrives for preparing overtures to next Assembly, should that be resolved on. Anyhow I think the idea a good one and worth considering.

" Yesterday was the Quarterly Communion at Elgin. Everything forces on me the chaotic condition of our Church, both as to ritual and doctrine. ——— preached well in the evening, but he has taken up Dr. Elder Cumming's new views, which seem to me a sort of Quietism. There are worse errors.

" This new scheme, to return to it, would leave our Church Courts all as they are ; would not interfere with the government of the Church by these Courts, and would be practically a return to St. Columba's arrangement."

To the same : " October 22nd : The organ Committee of the Town Council unanimously rejected the Memorial of the Ten Elders, so an organ goes in at once into the West Gallery. But I am horrified to hear that the new one for the College Chapel is likely to be put right in the apse there, where the Holy Table should go. They are afraid to put it in its proper place on the Screen, and the Chapel is too narrow, I fancy, to allow it in the side wall. But anything would be better than what is proposed."

To the same : " Elgin, 28th October : On Saturday last I went out to Dyce with some of my Ecclesiologists, to get a sketch of the ancient font there for a friend of yours. We had two hours' labour, digging up what turned out to be a

splendid and massive font, unfortunately broken. There is in my Uncle's garden here what he thinks is the Cathedral Font; but he won't dig it up for me; if your friend were to apply to him direct he would have more chance."

To the same: "16th December: The Spalding Club is now under weigh. I am one of the Council and am on the Ecclesiastical Committee. I shall not fail to keep in mind John Forbes' Diary, and your readiness to undertake the editing of it. They want me to undertake the Chartulary of St. Nicholas'. It was copied out for publication by the old club, or I should never think of such an undertaking. I have everything to learn about the earlier history of the Church, but I shall think twice before either accepting or declining."

Cooper was a member of the Assembly of 1886. The group of former Moderators who are in the custom of submitting a nomination for the chair of the Assembly had on this occasion selected Dr. Cunningham of Crieff, afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, but then best known for his *History of the Church of Scotland*. He had recently published a series of lectures¹ which dealt with certain subjects in a manner which seemed to Cooper flippant and incompatible with the positions held and taught by the Church of Scotland, or at least so doubtfully accordant with them as to disqualify him for deliberate selection by the Assembly for the honour of its presidency. When therefore the retiring Moderator, Professor Mitchell of St. Andrews, made his nomination, Cooper put in his personal *caveat*, or at least attempted to do so, saying that in view of "certain recent utterances" by Dr. Cunningham he "could not give silent acquiescence" to his elevation to the chair. As he had no formal motion, he could be heard only by indulgence of the Assembly, and this the Assembly audibly intimated that it did not give. He had nevertheless delivered his soul, and in later years would tell with something more than complacency, "I have been hissed in the General Assembly." He took some modest part in subsequent discussions, seconding Dr. Milligan in the important debate on Presbyterian Reunion, speaking, on the Report of the Life and Work Committee, against Seat Rents, and on various minor subjects.

Cooper to his Mother: "30th August: The great event

¹ Croall Lecture, 1886: *The Growth of the Church*.

here is of course Mr. Stewart's¹ election to the Chair of Divinity. You remember meeting him at Broughty Ferry, so I need say nothing about him personally, but it is satisfactory that the appointment was unanimous, and many of the examiners—among others, the Principal—were surprised and delighted with the great ability of his papers."

His holiday that year was chiefly spent in an ecclesiological tour in England, the daily notes of which show that he visited and made very careful examination of some of our own Border Churches, of Berwick, York, Selby, Bawtry, Toddington, St. Alban's, Dunstable, Flitten, and others. It was interrupted in order to attend the Editorial Committee of the Church Service Society, where "Dr. Donald Macleod wanted the services more Anglican." At Dunbar or Ayton or both he found that the first ripe wheat ear was "by old custom put into the Church plate on Sunday, and was supposed to bring good luck to the finder." At Flitten he reads a Grey epitaph of a lady, 1673, "one of death's choicest spoils, and probably will be one of the most glorious pieces of the Resurrection." Returning he preaches at Glencairn and reads the Edict for Mr. Playfair's ordination and finds "Maxwellton Braes" still in possession of a Laurie. One lady of that family had Renwick's life offered her as a wedding gift, and refused to take it; when she put the wine-cup to her lips, behold! it was *blood*. "That's a fact, anyway," said an old Elder to Mr. Jardine. When the volunteer movement began, about sixty communicants separated from a Reformed Presbyterian Congregation, because that congregation thought it *lawful* to support the throne of an uncovenanted Monarch."

East St. Nicholas' continued to flourish. At the two principal "occasions" of 1887, the number of persons communicating were 1267 and 1282. The organ was dedicated on Palm Sunday, Dr. Flint preaching. For the first time the Holy Communion was, with the unanimous support of the Session, celebrated on Christmas Day, which fell on a Sunday. "*Laus Deo*." The July holiday seems to have been spent partly at Spynie, where Sprott joined Cooper to be shown the beauties and the historical scenes and buildings (or ruins) of Moray; then in a visit to Durham, where the Cathedral interior at 9 p.m., impressed him with an "almost insupportable sense of awe"; to Edinburgh,

¹ The Rev. Alexander Stewart, B.D., Minister at Mains, afterwards Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and Moderator, 1911.

where he preached in St. Giles'; and to North Berwick where he was taken to see Aberlady Church, and was grieved to find a tomb where the Lord's Table should stand.

In the early part of the year the Chair of Systematic Theology at Aberdeen fell vacant. The patronage is with the Synod of Aberdeen, and the selection follows the result of a competitive examination. Cooper, however, reserved himself for his proper subject, Church History.

Dr. Sprott to Cooper: "May 17th, 1887: Since Dr. Trail's death, I have been thinking of you as his successor, and I hope you are going to offer yourself as a candidate. I do not think anyone is likely to beat you in scholarship, certainly not in knowledge of and love of theology. I am quite clear that it is your duty to apply, in the present state of the Church and of belief, or rather unbelief, in the land."

To Dr. Sprott: "22nd September: Look at Dr. Charteris' address to the Evangelical Alliance in the paper I send you. There is a heresy in the very title, and his address contains quite the lowest view I have ever seen as to the Church of Scotland, which he speaks of as a mere voluntary Association, as of the crew of the same ship, and quite the most damning account of the effect of our Church Courts, as at present managed, on the religious life of those who take part in them. I think it is high time that some public protest or remonstrance were made against the teaching, subversive of all Church principles, put forward by representative divines of our Church. What would you think of a series of papers in reply under your editorship? We must not stand by and let the truth as it is in Jesus be torn to pieces in the name of catholicity—save the mark! Of course I have taken no part in the meetings of the Alliance. It seems to have just two objects—the one to show that, as Lord Aberdeen said, denominations were quite compatible with union, and that visible union is not to be desired; and the other, to shew how virtuous and charitable they (the speakers) are in allying themselves. . . . I met John Bright at Dr. Milligan's the other day. He is the most fanatical Quaker still, but in Irish politics has the genuine Cromwellian tradition. His policy, he told us, would have been to suspend the whole representation of Ireland (he did not say, to suspend the taxation also) for two years. Scratch the Puritan, and you will find the despot!"

Not much material for narrative, and (excepting a few letters to Dr. Sprott) no correspondence, survives for these

next years. One has little more on which to go than tablet-diaries of engagements, with occasional notes added to these entries. At St. Nicholas' work goes on quietly, and tends always to increase. An afternoon service for children is begun and a Class for mill-girls. New elders and Lady District Visitors are added to the Staff. Cooper was not a Member of Assembly in 1887, and did not go to Edinburgh for its sittings, though the change of Formula for the signature of Elders (first of other and more radical changes) might have interested him. The editing of the St. Nicholas' Chartulary occupied part of his time, and he had begun his edition of Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*. And in April, 1888, he was elected one of the School Board of Aberdeen. Chiefly, as he notes, "by the kind efforts of his people," he stood second on the poll. In the same month he with his Session abolished the observance of Sacramental "Fast Days." These were of only customary authority, the invention of the Protesters of 1651; they had become, in cities at least, little more than public holidays, to the scandal rather than to the help of religion; and, with the associated services which had entered with them on the Saturdays and Mondays of "Sacramental Seasons," they encumbered the Sacrament itself and made its more frequent celebration difficult; once their abolition was mooted, they passed away almost without notice from the practice of at least Lowland Scotland. Cooper's note for the day runs, "Fast Day? abolished." All the same those old "Communion Seasons" are missed. They constituted what were practically "Mission Weeks" annually or semi-annually recurring, and in the absence of the Christian Year observances they had real religious value. We have abolished them—it is easy to abolish—and we have given no substitute. Where no substitute for the obsolescent in Church life is provided, such abolitions, inevitable or not, are steps in dilapidation.

Holidays for 1887 were spent in a visit to Russia with Mr. John Wink and Adamson. Cooper's notes on the splendour of St. Petersburg and on the devoutness of the Russian people read pathetically now. These notes characteristically begin with observation on the wild flora of the country (flowers and gardens took his eye everywhere, before even churches). "No ivy, no evergreens, (except pines) no wild roses, no whins, broom or daisies." Spynie Farm training comes out in the next lines, "No turnips,

nor any green crop except potatoes, which are good everywhere. Labourers are seen at work at 9-30 p.m. and 4 a.m. Saw a woman ploughing and a man herding geese. Immense fields of rye, and equally large spaces lying fallow, but other crops in small patches. . . . Cattle, sheep, pigs and horses herded together." "Women may be met in plain black costume, not at all nun-like, carrying black books with crosses on the cover. These, we were told, were women who had given all their property (two hundred to five hundred roubles say) to the Church, and are henceforth the Church's servants, collecting for her charities, etc., and maintained by her. Reminds one of the early 'order of widows,' and supplies a hint for our deaconesses. Town priests said to be well paid, and look as well as the hideous custom of beard and long hair will let them. On the whole very favourably impressed by what I saw of the Russian Church." "Sea somewhat calmer and we could admire the beautiful Scottish coast, the most lovely we have seen since we left the Firth of Tay. . . . Returned home, refreshed, strengthened, and most grateful to the Giver of all good."

One entry of the year is of the death of a lady who "remembered twelve ministers of the East Parish." At the time of Cooper's "case" one newspaper had commented in very candid terms on the brevity of incumbencies there, and of what it supposed to be the reason of that brevity.

"August 4th: They call it the 'Centenary of Missions,' but it is only the centenary of English Dissenting Missions. The Church converted Kingdoms, and was idle for only about three centuries before the Reformation. S.P.G. in William III's time. Our Church, alas, later than any."

"Dr. Cunningham is to be in Aberdeen on Sunday opening a new Independent Chapel (such is the Moderator's attitude to heresy and schism!); he is to preach in the West Church in the evening—Mr. Mitchell says 'to purge his irregularity in the morning.' He comes into our city without even asking the consent of the Clergy!"

To Dr. Sprott: "May 1st, 1888: I am to preach on Friday, May 25th (I think) at Govan—the Friday within the Octave,¹ and was thinking that a more solemn note might be interposed that day. Would it be unsuitable to preach on such a text as, 'What great buildings are here . . . there shall not be left one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.' Of course, I would point to the per-

¹ Of the Dedication of the great new Church of St. Constantine there.

manence of the Spiritual Temple and would begin with congratulations on the noble new building. Give me your advice."

To the same: "7th May: I hasten to reply to your kind letter, and to say that I think your idea of publishing a volume of Sermons for the chief Festivals of the Christian Year, by Ministers of the Church of Scotland, an admirable and opportune one. The only condition I annex is that you should be Editor. . . . An orthodox manifesto is much needed. . . . Mr. Mitchell and I are to have joint services this year on Ascension Day, I preaching in the morning and he in the evening. I have also announced a special service of prayer for the Eve of Pentecost; I had this last year and found it most helpful, and it has none of the *flashy* character of some popular services."

To the same: "29th August: I am seriously meditating adding a Daily Evensong to the morning service, the time (5—5-30) is seldom so well spent, and I can scarcely use it either for visiting or study. If I carry this out I shall have to compile a set of Daily Services for a week: you and I have often spoken of doing this together; I could thankfully send my attempts to you for castigation and improvement. We can exchange preliminary notes in the meantime. . . . Neither the Chartulary nor 'Scougal' is yet out; I shall send you copies of both when they are issued. My Baltic voyage was a great success. . . . There have been a number of Anglican Clergymen (English) here this season, who are all keenly interested in the Reunion proposals of the Lambeth Conference, and disposed, I think, to admit our present orders. Both Dr. Milligan and Dr. Hutchison seem of opinion that the time has come for something being done, and say that if overtures were made to the Assembly by the Bishops, something might come of it. The Archbishop of Canterbury is to be at Braemar; both ex-Moderators are to wait on him there. But Dr. Milligan (at any rate) wants to do so quietly, all the more so that he hopes to have really serious converse with the Primate."

In this year (1888) his Edition of the Chartulary of St. Nicholas¹ was published as one of the issues of the New Spalding Club, in two quarto volumes; a work of enormous labour, and (I am assured by a very competent authority) of wide and deep erudition, a serious and valuable contribu-

¹ *Cartularium Ecclesiæ Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis. Recognovit Jacobus Cooper, A.M., in Ecclesia supra-dicta Presbyter.*

tion to the scientific treatment of Scottish history. It is characteristic of Cooper that he himself shows little interest either in the work itself or in its reception. In his diary there is on December 3rd the entry "Chartulary," which may or may not mean that it appeared on that date—and that is all. Cooper prided himself on various things that he had done; but this, which most people would consider his chief literary work and for a busy Parish Minister a notable achievement, was to him a by-product and unimportant. It was not in the direct service of the Church or of religion or of reunion: such a thing as the inception of St. Margaret's Guild, the first Women's Guild in the Church of Scotland, meant much more to him; of that he was proud and would often refer to it: of his work on the Chartulary he was habitually silent.

To the same: "October 24th: I saw the splendid Church of — . . . but fancy, there is only one service in the week for adults. . . . The afternoon service on Sunday is 'for the young,' and there is no evening service. The minimum of worship! I suppose it will be like Lear's guards, 'what need of one?' next."

Cooper was not a member of the Assembly of 1889, but attended its debates as an auditor. His only remark of significance is—"The Assembly emphatically repudiated Dr. Cunningham's disparagement of the Apostles' Creed, and protested their own faith and horror at his words. He had only himself and his seconder with him. *Laus Deo.*" His holiday this year was spent, as his frequent custom was (many of us may wish that we had oftener done the same) in the exploration of Scotland and England—visiting Strathdon, St. Andrews and the Borders on both sides of the line, and Staffordshire.

"13th July: Landed at Ashiestiel—Sir Walter's study, his bedroom with stair down to the study, the old front door, and (very wisely) the flower garden with its dear old flowers—Cabbage, Moss, Blush, Damask, Celestial, Yellow and Scotch roses—as when he lived here; and reminds me much of my grandmother's house at Old Keith. In the study I thanked God for Sir Walter, and prayed that his work, purged of any dross of earthliness, might be carried on in Scottish society and the Church of Scotland. Sat under an oak where *Marmion* was written! Desk that held *Waverley*!"

He had the happiness too of having for driver from Tibbie

Shiel's to Moffat an Irishman, who assured him that, as regards fanaticism, if there was any difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, it was that they were both the same.

In the same year the Chair of Church History in Aberdeen University fell vacant. Both Cooper and Spratt were (with full understanding between them) candidates. Neither was appointed, and Cooper writes: "I am rather glad for my own part that I am not compelled to lay down a half-finished work in the East Parish, and perhaps see it all overturned before my eyes. We must just be more faithful at our present posts." In December he published a series of Advent Sermons under the title of *Bethlehem*, his first work in book form; it was very well received and reviewed.

Few letters of Cooper's of the date 1890 and very few of these addressed to him seem to have been preserved. The year was on the whole uneventful. He goes on adding to parish organisation: Sunday Afternoon Meetings in Common Lodging Houses, a Guild for Women, and new classes for working lads and girls; and he begins to consider the need for a Working Men's Guild. He complains that he requires a second Assistant, but, though the congregation continually increases, contributions are falling—as always, finance is his difficulty, and the additional help which he must have urgently needed was never obtained. It is not surprising that he notes the advice which a dying beggar, as wisdom based on a lifelong experience of the Scottish counties, bequeathed to the Free Church Minister of Old Deer—"Mr. McCrie, if ever ye tak' to the beggin', gang south."

He seems to have lectured a good deal, on such subjects as the "Fathers of Christianity in Scotland," in the county towns of the North, and in one was complimented by a local shopkeeper—"Sir, I followed every word; ye didna mak' a single mistak'." "I thought I was instructing them," Cooper comments, "but they were there to watch me."

"April 16th: Wrote my evidence in regard to the Divinity Chairs, and sent it through Dr. Milligan to the Universities' Commission. I think (1) the Chairs should follow the fortunes of the Church Establishment, and be kept as they are against a better day. (2) If the tests are to be altered, (Nicene) orthodoxy first; presbyterianism afterwards."

"April 18th: Mother and I went to Elgin. . . . We went to look at the old doo-cot in Provost Innes' Park; a man who was sawing recognised me—said he had seen me in the

East Kirk and heard me preach a sermon 'about Martin Luther, or Burke and Hare, or somebody'! What it was I can't think, unless it was my sermon on Father Damien! Such are our critics and patrons!"

Cooper's holiday that year was on an unusually extensive scale. He obtained leave of absence from his Presbytery and spent three months in the Near East, visiting Greece, Smyrna, Constantinople and Saloniki, and examining the Church of Scotland's Missions to the Jews in the two latter towns.

To Dr. Sprott: "17th July, 1890: My tour was a most interesting and delightful one; and I think I was able to be of some service to our own Church, and I saw much in the work of other branches of the Catholic Church to delight and stimulate me. Especially in the Church of Greece is there great hope and movement. Among other of less services, I was present at an ordination, at which I received marked honour. The Bishop sent his Chaplain to take me within the holy doors at the time of the Holy Communion, and I was the first to get the Antidoron. I called on the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna to salute the successor of St. Polycarp and to disclaim responsibility for some very objectionable proceedings on the part of English dissenters there. I was graciously received."

The project for a volume of Christian Year Sermons hung fire and eventually was dropped. The Disestablishment movement had developed, and the position was critical. Mr. Gladstone had decided to take up the question; the time did not seem opportune for a step which might furnish ammunition to the enemy; the Church was fully occupied with preparation to resist attack, and was in no mood for Sermon reading.

To Dr. Sprott: "18th October: — has forwarded to me your letter to him, which he considers 'rather discouraging.' I am sure you did not mean it so, and I don't think it discouraging but the reverse. Moreover I quite agree with you that *until* the next Assembly you must do nothing that by any possibility could prejudice the cause you have in charge. Nor must we. What we should do, I think, is this: go on quietly with the preparation of our book, gathering our material, purging and assorting it; we should have it ready for a first public announcement in the week after the Assembly, and issue it in November of next year—as an illustration of that systematic teaching

which (we hope) the Assembly will by that time have sanctioned. Then on the one hand we shall be loyally fulfilling the Assembly's recommendation, and on the other hand by the sober, practical, and devout strain of our volume we shall do something to recommend to our people the observance of the Christian Year, and vindicate so far the decision of the Assembly. You need not withhold your aid and contributions, if the volume is not even to be announced until after the Assembly. It was I that bade — ask for a sermon from you for Holy Saturday—I would much like that you could give us the discourse on the *Descensus ad Inferos* which you preached in the East Church. . . . We had a great Church Defence Meeting here—3,000 people all enthusiasm—who sat till 12 p.m. from 8. But beyond low comedy of the best sort from Dr. MacGregor and a fighting speech from Dr. Scott they got nothing. My heart was weighed with misgivings, rather than cheered or enlightened, by the whole tone of the speeches. They contained scarcely an appeal to conscience, not a hint that there was anything unsatisfactory either in our position or in that of the Dissenters, and were scarcely even luminous in regard to the political steps which we ought to take. One who thought establishment a secularising thing would have got many arguments out of what was said. On the other hand, the Hamilton Y.M. Guild Conference exhibited no little Plymouthism and some new fanaticisms, as if the Holy Ghost were a spirit of confusion."

Diary: November 17th. "Edinburgh—Church Interests Committee. Dr. Charteris said: 'The Clergy are all thinking of Church Defence—the laity of Reconstruction—Presbyterian reconstruction' (we have been criminally remiss in letting this be their one hope)."

The "cause" to which Cooper alludes as being in Dr. Sprott's charge was probably the enquiry into "the proper conduct of public worship and sacraments" which was at that time being carried out by a Committee of Assembly; the Committee, which was appointed in 1889, reported finally in 1894. It is alluded to again in Cooper's diary notes of 1891. "16th March: Committee on Worship and Sacrament, Edinburgh. Unanimous in recommending Communion of the Sick in their houses, service at the grave at funerals. The lay-elders—all—object to the Kirk Session requiring to be consulted beforehand. Mr. T. G. Murray wrote before his death asking that the Confession of Faith

at Baptism should be the Apostles' Creed. The Members were Drs. Sprott, Leishman, Scott, Rankine, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Stephenson (Perth)—author of overture for optional liturgy, which we approved—Mr. Murray, self; Elders—Sheriff Cheyne, Sir A. Kinloch, Mr. Wallace, Capt. Burn."

"May 19th: Committee on Worship and Sacraments. Appalling state of the Church in regard to worship. Yet all we can do is to accept Dr. Scott's petty motion."

To Dr. Sprott: "13th January, 1891: I am much interested to have the further particulars of your paper, and am glad you contemplate publication. Of course, I understand the more than Imperial—the Catholic—importance of the question. The maintaining of our right to enter into reunion with Episcopal Churches on the terms you lay down, would be the maintenance of the right of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of the Continent to do the same, and might pave the way for the most magnificent results. I understand 'He that believeth shall not make haste'; but I fear the rapid advance of very un-Catholic aspirations in Scotland, *through the fault of our silence.*"

To the same: "6th May: It will, I am sorry to say, be quite impossible for me to be present at the Committee on Monday, and I am the more disappointed because I disapprove strongly of the motion of Dr. Scott. It looks to me very like 'playing to the gallery,' its style does not befit a report, and the clause against 'the preparation of prayers' will too certainly, I fear, be read by clergymen of the baser sort as a pronouncement against anything in the way even of private preparation. As if the Church desired only the effusions of the moment! Besides, the hands of the Church ought to be free, or as free as they are at present."

In that same May, Cooper completed the tenth year of his Ministry in Aberdeen. The Anniversary fell on Pentecost, and was marked by special services for those whom he had admitted to First Communion and for the children whom he had baptized there, and there was the inevitable *Conversazione*.

In the early part of 1892 the Doctorate of Divinity was conferred on him by his University of Aberdeen. His holiday was spent in a somewhat commonplace round which included the Clyde lochs and took him by Glasgow, where the re-arrangement of the choir of St. Mungo's failed to please him,—“it is just a Parish Church stuck down in a Cathedral”; and to Dunblane, where a more comforting

restoration was in progress,—“great beauty of restored choir: need of screen: tracery of choir windows perhaps too early, rather Decorated: tile flooring.” Of one important restoration and its “re-opening” function he writes, —“Dreary Service—not well managed as a ceremony. Dr. —’s prayer might have been a pretty (if not quite honest) essay: but as a prayer!”

“August 16th: Dine at Dr. Milligan’s. Mrs. Milligan said that she was in Edinburgh when Thackeray lectured on the “Four Georges.” His remark on Queen Mary evoked hisses. When he returned to Mrs. Blackwood’s, where he was staying (and where Mrs. Milligan was) he said in her hearing,—‘I did not think all Scotch people regarded Mary Queen of Scots as their grandmother.’”

The Anti-Disestablishment campaign continued to be active, but methods of its prosecution were not always to Cooper’s mind. “February 28th: Church Interests [Committee]. I rose in wrath against inserting in the Committee’s Report a call on Members of other Churches to join us in Church Defence, on the ground that the Church of Scotland kept alive national feeling! It was not inserted.”

“October 17th: Bothwell. Dr. Pagan’s idea of Church Defence—Magic-lantern portraits of Dr. Phin and Mr. James Baird, with statistics of the Young Men’s Guild.” One remembers those lantern lectures and one’s own entire failure to lecture effectively with the slides provided. Nevertheless, they served a purpose. Dr. Pagan knew his public. But the lectures went best when he himself was the lecturer.

CHAPTER VII

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY

MEANTIME a movement which had for some time been taking shape came into activity—a movement which was to add materially to Cooper's labours, but was to realise some at least of his earlier aspirations. A number of circumstances of the time converged to bring this about. The Liberalism in theology which in his St. Stephen's days had alarmed Cooper had since then continued to develop towards what now calls itself Modernism. In his Moderatorial charge of 1882 Dr. Milligan had pointed out the tendency of the cultured classes "to sink into a state of hopeless uncertainty with regard to the claims of Christianity as a positive Divine revelation and of the Church as an actually Divine institution in the world"; of "alienation from those great doctrinal truths with which its morality is inextricably interwoven," so that to this class "all that is distinctive of Christian faith threatens to become meaningless." It was not the Establishment, he said, which was at stake, but the Church of Christ in all that most concerns her. If this were true in 1882, the case was certainly no better eight years later. The Evangelical movement of the early seventies was by that time exhausting itself in something of a reaction from the meagreness of the theology and from the conciseness of the method employed by American Evangelists, and no compensating impulse had so far appeared to supplement their work or to carry it forward. The new form of patronage, that by the local "congregation," introduced in 1874—had begun to shew its effect in modifying the *ethos* of the clergy and in assimilating the tone of Church life to that of Dissent—a tendency which, during the able and vigorous leadership of Dr. Charteris, gathered strength with every year.

The Churchly and Catholic tradition of the Church of Scotland Reformed which had expressed itself in the Scottish

Confession of 1560, in the Second Helvetic Confession (1566) to which that Church has once and again subscribed, in the Book of Discipline of 1577, and in the Westminster Confession of 1643, with its relative Catechisms and other documents, as well as by a succession of Divines and witnesses, had (in the Church of Scotland at least) never been extinct: the Disruption itself was in form a protest for a high doctrine of the Church. And now some at least—by no means all—of those who still represented the tradition felt themselves called to its reassertion. There were others, as is likely, to whom the national position of the Church, now endangered, was more than its Catholicity: one or two again were perhaps more distinctively of John Macleod's type of thought: there were besides pronounced Evangelicals, who saw that the Gospel of the Cross demands for its complement the Gospel of Pentecost; there were others who were in revolt against the divisive spirit which for nearly two centuries had devastated Scottish Church life, and others still who were aweary of the policy of mere expedience which seemed to them to dominate the Church's counsels. Cooper was in full sympathy with the motive principles of most of these groups:—it was the Catholic tradition of the Church of Scotland which in the first stage of his ministry had led him to decide that his place as a Scot was in its service; he was devoted to the preservation of the historic relation of the Scottish nation to the Scottish Church; his personal religion was profoundly evangelical—the Church and its system were to him after all only the “pillar and ground” of those fundamental truths which he believed to be the power of God to salvation—doctrine was in his view infinitely more than Church system or order; and “policy” in Church management was his peculiar abhorrence. But he sympathised with a difference—or rather with a personal emphasis in which he was almost peculiar; it would be difficult to name more than one or two who were distinctively of his type. He stood then very much where the framers of the recent Lambeth appeal stand now—placing the reunion of Christians before any other requirement of the position, and seeing the possibility of reunion only in acceptance of the historic polity of the Church and of the Episcopate which he believed to derive, if not from Dominical authority (he never held it to be of the *essè* of the Church) from at least sub-apostolic antiquity, and to have developed under the express necessity of conserving unity. In consequence his mind insis-

ted on the value to Scottish religion of the Episcopal remnant in Scotland, as representing not merely "three per cent. of the population," but as representing the consensus of ages and the practice of the Church wherever its practice has been continuous. This valuation naturally led him to a sympathetic attitude towards Episcopacy in general, and to a friendliness which amounted to a frank admiration for its embodiment in the Church of England. Others might be careful to differentiate their movement from any tendency to Anglicanism, and to make their appeal to the purer Presbyterianism of the past. Cooper for his part explicitly advocated reconciliation of the two National Churches. Yet I should not myself say that he inclined to Anglicise—I should rather say that he approved the Church of England because in so much it agreed with himself, and because alliance with it was necessary to his life-long dream of a restored *Ecclesia Scoticana*. Of these various elements which now began to draw together and to seek a way, the largest and most influential was certainly the traditionally Presbyterian, of which Dr. Leishman, Dr. Sprott, Dr. Milligan, and Dr. Hutchison were outstanding representatives; but common to them all there was a sense that a time had come for bearing a testimony and for raising a banner to which others sharing their views might rally.

On the Report of the Church Interests Committee in the Assembly of 1891 a plea was entered by two younger ministers against schism and for Christian unity. It took the form of an amendment to the effect that "the General Assembly, while rejoicing at the prospect of Presbyterian reunion, accepts such a union only as a step towards the complete unity of the Church of Christ." A new note was sounded: instead of ecclesiastical politics, here once more was the appeal to principle, which for nearly half a century had been out of fashion: and this seems to have been accepted by those who were waiting for such an appeal as a signal that the hour was ripe for action, indicating as it seemed to do that Catholic ideas were more widely disseminated than had been supposed, and that if submitted to the Church they would find at least a hearing. One or two junior members of the Assembly bestirred themselves at once to obtain a meeting of men like-minded, to consider the position. At this meeting Dr. John Macleod was present by invitation and presided, and certain of those present were asked to make arrangements for some fuller gathering at a later date, and

to formulate ideas for consideration. Cooper was not a member of Assembly, and may not have been present at this first consultation. In April, 1892, however, he was one of three or four who came together in Glasgow to arrange for the next step. He notes that they "met Dr. John Macleod" and that a circular was agreed on—presumably for issue to persons whose support it was possible to expect. The result was a meeting held during the sitting of the Assembly in the following month, at which it was agreed to form an association (so Cooper's note runs) "for the defence and promulgation of Catholic truth." Thirteen were present, and a Committee was named,—Dr. Macleod its Convener, Dr. Cooper its Secretary, to prepare a draft constitution. At a meeting in June the Society was formally constituted, and Dr. Macleod laid before it a programme and constitution, which he had prepared and which the Committee had approved; and these at a meeting in October the Society adopted without much modification. In right of his seniority, his theological distinction and his long testimony to the views which the Society designed itself to advocate, Dr. Milligan was marked for the position of its first President. The motto chosen for the Society was—*Ask for the old paths, and walk therein*; its general purpose was "to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the ancient Creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, and to assert Scriptural principles in all matters relating to Church order and policy, Christian work and spiritual life throughout Scotland." There followed a list of twenty-two "Special objects," of which the first was the affirmation of "the Divine basis, supernatural life and heavenly calling of the Church." Others referred to the historic continuity of the Church, Ordination, the Sacraments, care of youth, restoration of the Holy Communion to its proper place, Daily Service, the Christian Year, free and open Churches, the spiritual life of the Clergy, pastoral discipline of Clergy and laity, the priesthood of the laity, training of candidates for the Ministry, Evangelism, Church Finance, care of education and of the poor, consideration of Social problems "with a view to their adjustment on a basis of Christian justice and brotherhood," maintenance of the law of Marriage, the Christian view of Sacrilege, the care and seemly ordering of Churches and churchyards, the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical monuments, the deepening of a penitential sense of the sin of Schism and the furtherance of Catholic

unity. The methods proposed were those of prayer, conference, literature, special services, aids to the spiritual life of the Clergy, and Parochial Missions.

It was a spacious programme, but in nothing, as it was presently made clear, (unless in the reference to the Christian Year) disputable as divergent from the standards or law of the Church—on the contrary a witty opponent challenged it as being, like the wall of a certain legendary mason, “mair than straught.”

This is a memoir of Cooper, not a history of his times, and it must be left to the future Church historian to say whether it was a rash programme or whether it was temperate and statesmanlike. Dr. Flint, a man spiritually sagacious and very little of a sacerdotalist, judged well of the Church of Scotland as living and hopeful, since it could produce such a movement—so much so that (as Cooper states in a letter) he expressed himself as able to contemplate the results of disestablishment with more equanimity since the Church Society was formed,—and though he did not join its ranks, he was fully sympathetic with it and was ready to appear on its platform.

“Everything has two handles”: the Church was itself within three years to admit its need of reform by the appointment of a huge Committee to deal with the subject. Cooper at all events was in wholehearted agreement with every word of the new Society’s basis and objects, and gave himself consistently to its support and defence. As matter of fact little ground for hostile criticism of its aims was discovered. The assertion for the Church of “Divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling” came perhaps with something of a shock to that type of mind which was accustomed to think of the Church as resting on certain Acts of the Scottish Parliament—but that objection it was difficult to formulate. Phrases such as the “efficacy of Sacraments” were animadverted on, but that led to unanswerable quotation from the Confession of Faith. “Sacrilege” seemed a hopeful word on which to fasten; but as it proved to refer to proposals for disendowment, not much could be made of it. There remained only “Schism”—we had for long been given to understand that ecclesiastical competition was of the nature of healthy stimulus; and to talk of Schism and its sin and peril was to condemn us all. Even so the constitution and programme of the Society exposed discouragingly little ground for attack. It remained to “read between the lines,”

(that is, to give rein to imagination, benignant or otherwise) ; and that phrase became the accepted *cliché* of criticism. Against the appeal to suspicion there are few forms of defence. The idea of a plot against the Church of Scotland, organised by Dr. Milligan, Dr. Leishman, Dr. Sprott, Dr. Hutchison, Dr. Boyd, Dr. Theodore Marshall, not to speak of John Macleod and others, had not much to recommend it ; but if one reads between lines, all suspicions are possible. What was to be so read does not appear, though mummery, priestcraft, and other objectionable things were suggested. The lines themselves contained sufficient matter for reflection. That, however, was not the judgment of the time :—" Misrepresentation was abundant in the region of Church defence, but around the modest programme of the Church Society it flowed like a flood. Accusations of treachery, popery, sacerdotalism, gibes about man-millinery and apeing of Anglicanism, were freely bandied about "¹ ; while persons of importance maintained an ominous silence. These misrepresentations found vent chiefly in newspaper correspondence, but there were also formal Overtures, calling for the suppression of the Society, introduced into the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Aberdeen. Both of these were, after being spoken to, withdrawn. Dr. Macleod was able to say a little later that misrepresentation had been silenced.

The first public meeting of the Society took the form of a Breakfast—a form common to most Societies which hold annual meetings during the sittings of Assembly. Dr. Milligan presided, and spoke of " a great wave of mere humanism " as passing over our heads,—“ a merely human Redeemer, merely human salvation, a merely human Sanctifier, and at last the grave, the final resting place both for the body and for the soul.” It was therefore, he said, that members of the Society felt they were called to bring more prominently into view that great institution with which God had associated the preservation of His truth. Cooper's secretarial report was much shorter than those with which in later years he was accustomed to delight his hearers—reports which rather were masterly and eloquent reviews of the state of the universal Church and of all that had affected it during the year before. On this occasion he did little more than state that at the meeting of the previous June it had been found to be the desire of all present that, in view of the present state and prospects of the Church, an Association

¹ *Macleod Lecture*, 1901.

of those holding Church principles should be formed "for mutual counsel and support, and for the propagation of sound principles in the Church"; as an instalment of the promised efforts for "the deepening of the spiritual life of the Clergy," he spoke of the purpose of certain members of the Society, a purpose of which the Council had heard with interest and sympathy, to hold a retreat for prayer and meditation during that summer. Cooper's note of the meeting runs:—"25th May. Breakfast 8-30. S.C.S. Magnificent success: about eighty present—Sir James Fergusson joins the Society and its Council; Dr. Milligan and Dr. Macleod gave addresses such as are seldom heard; Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Sprott, Mr. Landreth, all spoke well. Dr. Boyd's indifference changed to enthusiasm, and there was neither flaw nor hitch in the proceedings. But we had not a special reporter and much cannot be gathered up again."

The retreat was held at the Trossachs in the end of June, with the approval and help of the Parish Minister and his Session. At this distance of time impressions are faint, but one remembers its helpfulness. The numbers attending were not large—some twelve to fifteen, I think. Cooper himself took direction of it and gave the addresses; there were constant prayer and periods of silence and meditation; each morning there was the Holy Communion; and there were pleasant hours of relaxation and fellowship.

Cooper to Dr. Sprott (March 1893?): "Father Congreve of Cowley St. John, Oxford, was here to-day. He had read Dr. Milligan's paper¹ and was so greatly charmed with it that he was buying copies to circulate among his friends at Oxford. I think that you might send copies to — and other likely elders. Dr. Milligan sent [it] to Lord Balfour; Dr. Hutchison and Professor Dobie have joined."

To the same: "12th May: You will remember that Mr. — and Dr. Macleod were to draw up a leaflet with prayers on the 'present Ecclesiastical Circumstances of Scotland.' Dr. Macleod has done it himself. It has reached the dimensions of a Paper. We have not seen it . . . but we may have entire confidence in his pen. He says, 'God sent it to him.'"

"What a state Scotland is in! Drs. Milligan and Hutchison, and *every layman I have met* think Charteris' proposal (which he did make) to fraternise with the F.C.s suicidal. Our contention is that 'the Disruption' was wrong. In

¹ *The Scottish Church Society—some account of its aims.* March 4th, 1893.

May *Life and Work* I suggested a day of fasting : to which Professor Iverach replies they would as soon think of being penitent for Bannockburn."

The following from Dr. Macleod himself explain the reference above to a paper which was very widely circulated :—

"Monday. I think it (a prayer-sheet written for members of S.C.S.) might be useful, with the heading (for distribution)—'A Call to Prayer in the present crisis'—and possibly the Editorial Committee of Church Defence might work off many thousands. Hitt can keep up the type till we decide finally. I hope to see you at the Wednesday Conference. Things are so disordered that I venture to draft a sort of scheme of [Church] defence, and I enclose you *privately* a copy. I fancy it will be condemned at Convener's Committee to-morrow." (This was his scheme for Constituency Committees.)

The same to the same : "Friday : My chief hope about it [the Prayer-sheet] is that I did not mean to *write* anything of the kind till I began to dictate to —, and that it thus came straight off, so that I have the sort of feeling that it is of God that we should as a Society sound a Call to Prayer and to penitence. Who can say what such a Call by His blessing may evoke. Please be frank to the uttermost in all suggestions. Had I time I could of course amplify and alter, but there is no time if we mean to catch the Assembly."

Cooper to Dr. Sprott : "5th June : Will you go into retreat ? Dr. Milligan talks of going for at least one day, and would for certain if Dr. Macleod would give the addresses, which I have urged him to do. It seems the *Glasgow Herald* mocks at our desire to pray, and one of its correspondents asks that we should be prevented doing so ! Did you notice that the *Church Times* thinks we have scored a triumph in that melancholy debate ?

"A proposal has been made to the Hymn Committee from the *English* Presbyterians asking a joint Presbyterian Hymnal. The Committee meets to-morrow and I could not go, but wrote asking delay for fuller deliberation, pointing out that it is one thing loyally to accept Presbyterianism as the form of Church government preferred by the Scottish people, and another thing to regard it as the chief link of Christians. The Scottish Dissenters have come to their Mother Church asking a common hymnal : the English Dissenters should go to the Church of England. . . . A

Free Church Minister in Aberdeen defended the Disruption against me, saying that it was *better* than Bannockburn, and quite worthy to rank with the Exodus ! ”

The same to the same : “ 15th June : I was glad to learn by your last letter that you were inclined to go to the Retreat. It would be a great matter if you would, for somehow it seems to hang fire, and there are comparatively few likely to be present. There is no means more likely to be useful for deepening the religious life of the Clergy, our first aim ; and in face of the cry made about it, it is incumbent on us to go on with it. As to the name—we must not be afraid to give things their right names. If we are Catholic, let us say so. We want both the reality and its proper appearance. Otherwise we shall only gain the reputation of wishing more than we dare mention.”

The “ methods ” indicated in the programme of the Scottish Church Society had included a Public Conference to be held in one of the larger towns of Scotland, and the first of these was arranged for the following November and in Glasgow, for the treatment of such subjects as the Devotional Life, National Religion, Social Questions, the place of the Diaconate, the Church and Evangelism, and among others, “ Communion with God and in God.” In the course of the discussion following papers on this last-named topic, one of the speakers—Dr. H. M. Hamilton, of Hamilton—a man noted for moderation and prudence, devout but in no degree a theologian, who was at the time freshly bereaved both in his home and in friendship and was living much in the other world, diverged into a “ very moderate and tender plea for the remembrance of the blessed dead in prayer.” To-day the same remarks might seem common-place ; at that time they came as a provocation and a surprise. Dr. Walter Smith could say and did say very much more,¹ and the then rigid Communion to which he adhered had taken no steps to express disapprobation. The Church of Scotland had itself said at least as much in the rendering of the *Dies Iræ* which it had placed in the hands of its people. The question of such intercession had no place in the programme of the Society, nor was it intended by the topic, as included in the Syllabus of the Conference. On the contrary, Dr. John Macleod had caused a letter to be written to Dr. Hamilton before the Conference to warn him off from such an interpretation of the print, and from reference to

¹ *Poetical Works*, 1906 ; pp. 501-502.

the departed ; but Dr. Hamilton had either not read the letter or had read it in a contrary sense. But, the topic having been mooted, Macleod—either on the spur of the moment, or, as is more likely, in his vivid and characteristic reliance on the leadings of Providence, as well as from an equally characteristic impulse to support a friend, even in indiscretion—followed with an exposition of his own views on the subject. These were clear. He used sometimes to say that none of us knew how far God's purpose in the Church had been and was hampered by our failure to reflect to the Father in our prayers the mind of the Son or to co-operate to the full in Christ's intercession, which he regarded as covering alike the living and the "souls under the Altar," the holy dead who are kept by its protection against that day—of both alike Christ seemed to him to be Lord ; and he held that the Church's intercession should coincide with Christ's and should extend as far ; since otherwise we must either think that the holy dead live independent of Christ's merit, or else that it is wrong to re-echo Christ's prayers. The dead of whom it was thus argued were the Blessed in Paradise, and intercession Macleod regarded, not as an effort to modify the Divine purpose, but as a representing to God of that purpose, which He desires to see reflected to Him in the faith and supplications of His people. Whether any great occasion of stumbling was offered by such conceptions may be matter of opinion. An outcry arose, chiefly in letters to the press and these for the most part anonymous. Some, it may be, desired occasion : probably there were more who did not understand, to whom the formula, "praying for the dead" stood for something profligate and perilous, behind it looming "the Romish doctrine of Purgatory," funeral masses, indulgences, and much more. John Macleod, however, refused to regret the incident : through it, and through the subsequent clamour, he believed, God willed that the Church's consciousness of that "multitude whom no man can number," who are in fact by far the greater part of the Church, should be revived.

In the discussion of Dr. Hamilton's remarks Cooper had spoken immediately after Macleod and in terms which, when it is considered that they must have been unpremeditated, may seem to have been singularly well chosen. He pointed out in what sense "Prayers for the dead" are rejected—those namely which look beyond the Communion of the Saints, and such as are founded on or imply the doctrine

of purgatory: but he claimed for such prayers as were intended by the previous speakers a lawful place in our use, in so far as our Catechisms recognise "benefits" which believers receive only "at the Resurrection" and as being within the sanction of the Second Petition of the Lord's Prayer—prayers, that is, for the "Perfection of bliss which is promised to them." Both he and Macleod took occasion shortly after to preach on the subject, and published their sermons without challenge. Cooper appended to his a full report of his Conference speech and a *catena* of supporting quotations from Reformed sources. The sermon is eloquent and stately and learned, but perhaps less decided in its conclusion than the hearer might have been led to expect by its earlier paragraphs. If it had stopped sooner, it would have been more complete. Cooper himself did not seem to have much pleasure in it and did not bind it with his private collection of printed sermons, nor did he afterwards recur to the topic, or talk of this sermon, as he did of some. Possibly he disliked the tone of apology which he had thought that he must adopt and suspected himself of concession—a thing repugnant to his nature. I am more inclined to think that what he disliked was the topic itself. It did not enter into the cycle of thought in which his mind dwelt; it did not touch the great verities of the Catholic faith, nor that matter of unity and of restored order, nor that of beauty in worship and its accessories, all of which were to him of prime interest. Mysticism was alien to him, and his eschatology tended to be that which he had learned at his Mother's knee. I believe that his sermon went as far as his convictions justified, and was the more likely to carry his readers with him.¹

¹ In the sermon itself, after discussing the scope of his text, *The Souls under the Altar*, (Rev. vi, 9-11), he defined his reference—that by the Blessed Dead he meant *All that have died in the Lord*. He claimed the right to hope at least for such as have departed in the Church's communion—"the Church has no calendar of the lost"; but he repudiated the doctrine of "Eternal Hope," as Farrar and others had set it forth. (As to *Eternal judgment*, he always asserted the opinions which were generally held orthodox). He excluded prayers "founded upon the hypothesis of a second probation." As to the intermediate condition of the Blessed Dead, he found three points of general agreement,—that they are "in Christ"—that they are thereby united to all Christ's members—and that further "benefits" await them at the Resurrection. The Blessed Dead, he said, are not excluded from the Blessed Hope which is attached to Christ's Second Advent, nor from the intercession of our Lord which anticipates it. "He, the Head of the whole Body, prays for the whole Body in all time. Shall we not also, for the whole Body, pray His prayer?" We do so when we pray "*Thy Kingdom come*," or when we repeat, "*Even so Come, Lord Jesus*." Such concurrence with the Heavenly Intercession of our Lord

Cooper to Dr. Sprott : " January 26th : I would be much obliged if you could give me the full *Prayer* from the Lausanne Liturgy, and also a reference to where it may be found. It is of course a *Reformed* Service-book. In return I can give you an instance where (Dutch) Presbyterian Orders were recognised by no less a person than Archbishop Laud himself, who appointed Vossius to a Prebend in Canterbury Cathedral and installed him there in 1629. Of course many in the Church of Scotland of Laud's time, when it was in full communion with that of England, were only in Presbyterian Orders. But the Dutch Church had certainly not accepted Episcopacy.

" I want to put a *Catena* of the kind of prayers we mean at the end of my sermon, and would be glad if you can send me any. I thought of arranging them under three heads (1) Prayers for the hastening of CHRIST'S Kingdom of Glory and the resurrection of the dead ; (2) Remembrance of departed believers in their present state of rest and blessedness (I should give examples from the Ancient Liturgies, especially those that contain prayers *for* the B.V.M. and other great Saints). The Lausanne prayer would come

had been the practice of the earliest Christian centuries with but one dissentient voice—that of Aerius. Prayers for the faithful departed entered into the devotions of the Synagogue and incurred no condemnation from the Lord Jesus. The Church, as exhorted, continued to " pray for all Saints," always with outlook fixed upon that completion in felicity at the Resurrection, which our Catechisms recognise : in the words of Usher, " that the whole man, not the soul separated only " might obtain full escape from the consequences of sin and a perfect consummation. St. Paul's prayers with reference to Onesiphorus were discussed, and it was pointed out that the primitive Church prayed for those most certainly believed to be accepted of God, and that without any thought of Purgatorial discipline endured. The later discontinuance of a practice, once universal and still continued in the Eastern Churches, had resulted from the growth of the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, of which the history was traced down to the definition of the dogmas in the fifteenth century. " In the next hundred years the errors attained to the most frightful proportions." The reasons for its rejection by the Reformers were stated in vigorous terms. In the recoil from it suspicion fell on the ancient prayers, though these were really inconsistent with the notion of purgatory. The moderation of the great Reformers, Cranmer, Calvin, Luther, in the matter was commended, and the Montrose Burial Service of before 1581, which echoes Cranmer in the First Book of Edward VI, was quoted. As to the question whether such prayers were now lawful in the Church of Scotland, if prayers for their resurrection, and for their receiving of benefit at Christ's appearing are (as they must be) allowed, the question is so far answered. As to their utility, it must be admitted at least so far as profitableness to the living is concerned, since they go to maintain a sense of the Communion of the Saints, give outlet to human affection, and repel the idea that the Blessed Dead are established in independence of the Redeemer. And so far as they are involved in the Second Petition of the Lord's Prayer, Christ is their Guarantor.

under this head, or perhaps under (3) Prayers for mercy *to the whole man* (not to the soul merely) *at the last day*, (not *now*). Usher draws this distinction, and his very words are reproduced in our Catechism. Would it be too much to ask you to look over my proofs?

“ . . . I have a most interesting letter from the Roman Catholic priest at Glengairn, enclosing a *Catena* of the Fathers, which he claims as proving that the Catholic Church from the beginning taught as Roman Catholics do now, the doctrine of purgatory. The passages, I need not say, are very far from doing that, though some may look that way. Of course we admit that the *doctrine came in*. It seems to me (in its Florentine form) to rest on the flimsiest of possible foundations, though our Confession dogmatises too much in the opposite direction. The points where we are safe are that those who die in the *Lord* are *blessed, at rest, with Christ, in Paradise*. Whatever views of their condition are consistent with this the Church ought to allow. But of course all this is beyond the scope of any sermon.”

Dr. Sprott to Cooper: “ February 7th, 1894: I return the proof. It is all right as far as I can see, but many of the references are new to me. I don’t think the enemy will be able to pick many holes in it. I am persuaded the idea of the primitive Church was not so much praying for *individuals* departed as that of praying in Communion with the universal Church and presenting *that* Church before God in its totality.

“ Would it be worth saying in a note that it is impossible to pray for the Church, for the perfecting of the Saints, or to offer any such petitions, without including the Blessed dead, unless we verbally limit our prayer to the small section of the Church now on Earth? Also would it be worth saying that the thanksgiving for the righteous departed, now so common and so much appreciated, was introduced by the Church Service Society in its forms, and had been for a long period unknown in Scotland? ”

Cooper to Dr. Sprott: “ March 6th: There will be no *Overture* against us, and Dr. Macleod’s noble sermon and my quiet one have shewn people that there is no danger in *our* ‘ prayers for the dead.’ My impression is that the cause is growing steadily. . . . Have you seen the *Scottish Evangelist*? Its Editors, whom I don’t know, must be some of our people. I have agreed to take one hundred copies for distribution, and I hope ere long people will prefer it to

Life and Work. I am going to commend it in my next Supplement."

Cooper to Dr. Sprott: "31st March: You will be glad to hear that I have had communications from 'the Catholic Presbyterian Society' of Princeton, New Jersey: an association has been formed there exactly on the lines of our S.C.S. It is another token of the good seed sown widely and springing up in all the world."

Cooper to J. C. S.: "16th May, 1894: Of course you have seen the *Conferences*:¹ the only fault to the papers is their brevity: but they are, with scarcely an exception, good, and some are of high excellence. Dr. Leishman, I think, bears the palm for style—his humour is delicious, and he has a charming old-fashioned grace. —'s *argument* strikes me as very fine. I am proud to appear in such company, but my paper is too compressed to read well. I like yours very much.

"Two northern Presbyteries—Inverness and Chanonry, have overtured against us. I suppose their overtures will be cast on a point of form, but there is sure to be discussion. . . . One of our representatives is ill and if he resigns his seat I shall possibly be a member after all. In which case I may be cited *apud acta* to answer for my 'Prayers for the Dead.' In any case it will be an anxious time for me and for us all, as well as for the Church."

Cooper to M. W.: "Edinburgh, June 5th, 1894: I have found the [Assembly] fortnight laborious: dry from a devotional point of view, yet in many ways pleasant and encouraging. Dr. Macleod's return to the field, like Achilles ('Ye shall know the difference now that I am back again'—*vide Lyra Apostolica*), is an *event*; and it would not have taken place but for the backing and encouragement our Society has given him. And amid the discredit of — and the no-policy of — Dr. Milligan's prediction that we shall hold the field is coming true. God grant us wisdom, fortitude, gentleness and love out of a clear faith and a pure heart.

"So we thank God and take courage."

¹ *Scottish Church Society Conferences*: First Series. Edinburgh, J. Gardner Hitt, 1894.



Photo: E. Geering.

JAMES COOPER

CHAPTER VIII

LATTER YEARS IN ABERDEEN

BY 1893 Disestablishment had obtained a place in the official programme of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet ; the early introduction of a Suspensory Bill was intimated, to be followed by a Bill to " deal with the Church of Scotland." On the part of the Church there was deep reluctance to engage in " Politics "—but it felt itself compelled now to appeal to the electorate or let the matter go by default. A new organisation, following Constituency lines, was planned by Dr. John Macleod, and Cooper found himself, along with another, in charge of Forfarshire. His diary observes :—" If for Church defence we need *overseers*, how much more for more important parts of Church work ? "

Dr. Milligan's death in December, 1893, came upon Cooper as a veritable bereavement. After thirty-three years' occupation of his Chair at Aberdeen, Dr. Milligan had resigned it in the autumn of that year and had removed to Edinburgh, where a fatal illness rapidly developed. He was unable to be present at the Church Society Conference in November, but had dictated to it from his deathbed a touching letter of encouragement. In the controversy which followed that Conference his sympathies were with Macleod and Cooper in their contendings for the lawfulness of the commemoration of the departed in Christ—among his papers he left (so Cooper records) " a note book on the Middle State and Prayers for the Blessed Dead." Immediately after his death his widow conveyed to the Society through Dr. Macleod, " a special message of affection " which he had desired her to send. " He asked me to say to the Members of the Scottish Church Society, and he specially named you and Dr. Sprott and Dr. Cooper, how much his thoughts and prayers had been with you during his illness. He had hoped much to have been spared for a while to work with you all in the cause which you and he

had so much at heart, and at the beginning of his illness it was a trial to him to think that perhaps this was not to be." Cooper's friendship with him had lasted from his college days, growing always closer; it was more than friendship—it was the devotion of a disciple. He leaned on Dr. Milligan and counted association with him one of the chief enrichments and privileges of his life. The depth of his sense of loss could be measured by his silence—it was a subject of which one did not hear him speak, and his letters have hardly a reference to it.

In February he went to London to read a paper on Scottish Ecclesiology to St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society in the Chapter House of the Cathedral. In March the movement for the restoration of St. Mary's Chapel in the Crypt of the East Church which was the crown of his ministry there, was definitely launched, the Lord Provost, the Principal of the University and others supporting it.

Cooper was a member of the Assembly of 1894 and took part in several of its incidents, speaking in defence of the African Mission (Blantyre) which was attacked for supposed ritualism, and carrying the Assembly with him on the question of retaining on its roll "the Church of Campvere," the old staple of Scottish trade with the Low Countries.

Dr. Cameron's Bill for Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland had with Government support obtained its first reading in the House of Commons a few weeks before, and there was of course a full dress discussion of it in the Assembly. Cooper's note of it runs:—"May 30th: Church Interests Debate. Lord Balfour good: the rest 'a soirée without the tea'—Martin of Lauder alone lifting the debate. Fine tone of the House." And again, "May 31st: Foreign Missions. Spoke (1) in advocacy of payment of *tithes*; (2) in defence of the ritual at Blantyre, and deprecation of the 'pitiful' attack on our noble missionaries." "June 4th: Assembly. Campvere Case. I moved the retention of the name on roll and carried it against the 'Table' by 70 to 68.

"Moderator's¹ Closing Address: Latitudinarian in doctrine, favourable to increased ritual, advocated Superintendents, praised our Society, smote the men who conferred with the F.C.s; *fine* on Establishment."

In June there was a second retreat at the Trossachs,

¹ The Rt. Rev. R. Herbert Story, D.D., Professor of Church History in Glasgow.

again disappointing in numbers attending, but profitable for those who did attend. A full round of Services was observed. Two of the days were given partly to conference, and the Wednesday was given to very strict retreat, with seven spiritual addresses. The dedication of the rebuilt St. Cuthbert's Church in Edinburgh, which took place in July, interested Cooper intensely. He officiated at one of the Services of the Octave which followed and took part in those of the Sunday, when the preacher seemed to him "a Liddon for our Scottish St. Paul's."

The second of the Church Society's Conferences was arranged to be held in Edinburgh in February, 1895, and the announcement of its meetings was received in ecclesiastical circles there without enthusiasm. Dr. Leishman presided, and the Society had the support of papers from Dr. Flint, Dr. Robertson (Professor of Hebrew, Glasgow), and Dr. Rowand Anderson, the eminent Architect, who were not of its membership. There was an interesting series of papers, anticipatory of present-day treatment of social subjects, on the Church's duty to special classes, emigrants, seamen, inmates of Hospitals, paupers, prisoners, vagrants. Cooper contributed to the discussion of Church Fabrics, and his paper ("forced on him") on "the Celtic Inheritance of the Scottish Church" was able and brilliant. The outstanding feature of the Conference was Dr. John Macleod's treatment of "The Holy Sacrament of Baptism—the place assigned to it in the Divine Economy of Grace, and the present need in Scotland of Explicit Teaching in regard to it"—a treatise rather than a paper, forming by itself the first of two considerable volumes in which the Proceedings of the Society were published—a publication which elicited from the then Lord Salisbury the remark that the Tract on Baptism was as thorough as Pusey's and that there was "better stuff in the Church of Scotland just now than in the Church of England."

Cooper to Dr. Sprott: "3rd September, 1895: — and others have agreed to conduct a Mission Week in the East Parish, November 16th-25th. May I ask your prayers and the benefit of your advice on certain points? I trust it may be the *Leeds* of Scotland. 'Evangelistic work on Catholic lines' includes instruction in fundamental truth as well as appeals to the heart and conscience; and I am trying to arrange a series of sober instructions to Professional and Business Men on such subjects as God, the Soul, Sin,

Faith, Hope and Charity, Justice, Churchmanship, and the like. Arrangements as yet are very incomplete, but my *soundings* have been most encouraging. You see I have no little work in front of me, but I am strong and hopeful."

In May, 1895, the home at Spynie was broken up and Mrs. Cooper came, the most honoured and cherished of guests, to live with her son and to make his house in Crown Terrace, Aberdeen, what it had hardly been—a home. Cooper has left notes of his farewell visit to her before the removal—of his going with her to Holy Communion at Elgin, "as at his first Communion"—the fiftieth time she had been present in successive years at the May Celebration in that Church; and then of their goodbye visit together to his father's grave at Urquhart. His July holiday took the form of a visit to Ashe Rectory, in Hants. Mr. Thoyts, the Rector, had been incumbent of the Episcopal Church at Tain and a Canon of Inverness, a devoted lover of Scotland, (it was his pride that his Orders were derived from Scottish, not English Bishops) and almost as devoted to the Church of Scotland, which in many things he admired. Cooper and he were very much at one in their longing for reunion of the two Churches, and Thoyts had arranged that he should address the local Clergy, (the "North Test Clerical Society") on the recent movements in the North. Silchester was then very recently excavated and had to be visited, as well as Winchester and Salisbury; but, as always, he is most concerned with the Parish Churches, in which he discovers wealth of interest—Basingstoke, Romsey, Oakley, and others:—One he notes as good but "in very low Church hands, and very dirty.—Vicar will not speak to Confirmees about Holy Communion because he does not know if they are Elect!" His holiday was interrupted by the Dissolution of Parliament and an immediate General Election which, as all felt, would decide the question of disestablishment in Scotland; he returned to Scotland "to fight for the Church and the Union." In November the Mission Week as to which he had consulted Dr. Sprott was carried out—the most thoroughly organised and extensive effort of the sort of which I have had experience. One forgets details, but the impression abides of the great congregations, the intent responsiveness of the after meetings, the helpfulness of the Daily Devotional Services and the pervading presence and influence of Cooper himself. I remember a Baptismal Service in St. Mary's Chapel on the Thursday of that tense

and crowded week, and how in his hands it became one of the most impressive Services of the Mission and the address to the Sponsors one which none present was likely to forget. All the five Missioners were kept busy, indoors and outdoors, and Cooper seemed to be with them all. One thing remains with me—the close of the Mission in the late Sunday evening when all but the Missioners had left the Church, and he gathered these with himself before the Holy Table of the Lord in the silence and emptiness of the great building to recite with him the *Te Deum* and give thanks to God. In his annual Pastoral Letter (1896) he speaks of disappointment that the clergy and people of other congregations of the City had hardly responded at all to the invitation to “come and share in the benefit”—but owns the Divine blessing; there had been little excitement, but a deep and abiding effect. The open air preaching of one of the Missioners had left with him the conviction that “no more powerful means could be got of reaching a large section of the people than a regular Service of the kind, conducted in Castle Street weekly throughout the year, sometimes by the Parish Minister, sometimes by an Assistant. If our clerical staff could be increased, that is one thing I would do.”

No increase, however, was obtainable and Cooper's parish work had grown upon him so that one can only wonder how he lived through his weeks. It was by this time fairly developed and one may consider what it was. His Sunday gave him Morning, Afternoon (Children) and Evening Services, with Mission Services in the Guestrow and in a Common Lodging House. There were two Sunday Schools, one of which he superintended personally. There was a Young Men's Bible Class, and there was a morning class for the study of the Greek New Testament, one or other of which he conducted on, I think, alternate Sundays. And there were three other Bible Classes, which, though others taught them for him, must have needed oversight. And there was the meeting of St. Nicholas' Guild at 10 a.m. each Sunday, which he frequently attended.

On week days there was Daily Service at 10-30 a.m. and 5 p.m. There was the weekly “exercise” with sermon on Thursdays at 11 a.m., and in Advent and Lent prayer meeting at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays. There were Evening Preparatory Services on the Friday before each Celebration; and Special Services on St. Andrew's Day, Christmas Eve (midnight), Christmas Day, New Year's Day; Services

throughout Holy Week, on Ascension Day (forenoon and evening), on the Eve of Pentecost, and for Harvest Thanksgiving. Then there were Guild Services—St. Margaret's had quarterly services and an Anniversary on St. Margaret's Day ; the Men's Guilds (St. Nicholas' Guild and the Working Men's Guild) had theirs on St. Nicholas' Day, December 6th. All of the Guilds attended an early Service (8-30 a.m.), on Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday. There were Celebrations on Easter, in June and October, and on the Sunday after Christmas, and for invalids in August. There was the sick visitation of a congregation containing over 2,800 communicants—and there were parochial visitation and congregational visitation to fill in the time. There were all the other Parish organisations which are usual ; there were their Winter social meetings and their Summer excursions. And withal there were the civic duties of a City Minister, the Committee work which called him frequently to Edinburgh, the Presbytery and Synod work in which he took a full share. There was the Ecclesiological Society, which in those earlier years depended on his constant impetus ; the Church Service Society ; the Scottish Church Society. There was a constant writing of papers, publishing of sermons and endless correspondence. There was an unflagging production of fresh discourses—I do not think that he used old sermons much, if at all. He left the house daily for Morning Service and returned for early dinner—went out again for the afternoon and returned after Evening Service—went out again for some inevitable 8 p.m. engagement, and returned to begin his desk work : and so for seven days a week. As he says himself, he was very strong—but more, he had an extraordinary power of recovery from fatigue : half an hour's rest, flat and silent on his study sofa, and he was fresh and ready for what had next to be done ; so too from his July holiday he would return, exhaustion forgotten and he at his best for another year's labour. He had remarkable facility in pen work, and wrote both rapidly and legibly. As a speaker he was not fluent or ready—but on paper he expressed himself with perfect ease and precision, knowing his own mind on most questions and on all Scripture, setting it forth in stately periods and with impressive cadence. His enormous reading and retentive memory made the work of reference easy to him. Where other men need solitude for the toil of literary composition, he required sympathy and fellowship. When

of a late evening he settled to write the sermon that must be finished before he slept, it was for his guest or his Assistant to occupy the opposite armchair and talk the subject over, while Cooper's pen flew, committing it to paper, or to listen to paragraph after paragraph as these took shape. In this capacity of a very sleepy listener I have helped in the evolution of a sermon which the next day I heard and admired. During those last Aberdeen years Cooper seems to have had little time for letter writing; even his correspondence with Spratt is suspended. His tablet diaries now contain practically nothing except notes of engagements—baptisms, marriages, funerals, Services and meetings of every sort, parochial or general—and these crowd its pages. There is little occurrence in these years of the racy comments or quaint anecdotes, which brighten the earlier volumes—though he can still record his Mother's proverb that “a loan should go laughing home,” meaning that more than is borrowed ought to be returned; or can set down the remark made by a “Man” (it is difficult to define a Man in this technical sense—he is a layman, and he “has grace”), who, discoursing in the Free Church of a Ross-shire village where Cooper happened to be preaching, “told the people that they might as well expect to find a seal upon a mountain top as a Christian among the Moderates.” There is not much then to record of his pastorate in these years. Things went busily: nothing that was once begun was allowed to drop: he can write of the happy relations with his office-bearers and flock—“he knows of no root of bitterness.” Cooper had at that stage entirely won the hearts of the Aberdeen people and had become one of their institutions. “Throughout the City,” one of his then fellow-workers¹ writes, “he enjoyed the reputation of being an ideal pastor and, in particular, a most devoted and generous friend of his poor parishioners. I received on all hands warmest congratulations on being appointed Assistant to a model Parish priest. Do you remember the article on the Scottish Church Society that A.K.H.B. wrote for Blackwood's Magazine? In it he referred to ‘the self-denying holiness of Cooper.’ Mr. Cooper did not like that sort of thing himself, but the phrase expresses very well what I found Aberdonians of all Churches thought of Father Cooper, as they sometimes called him—*Father* Cooper: there was affection as well as admiration in their use of the

¹ The Rev. John Cæsar.

word. A.K.H.B. is reported to have said of him, 'I have been in Aberdeen; I saw my dear friend Cooper of the East Kirk there. He has been in Greece and has brought back with him many interesting things. But by far the most interesting thing he has brought back is James Cooper.' " He remarks on the careful equipment of his Mission Rooms—"beautifully furnished, a delight to worship in. There was a mighty difference from the ordinary idea of a Mission Room. We had a Holy Table with Cross and flowers on it, a Prayer Book, a Reading Desk, an American organ and seats for the choir—it was the preacher's fault if the Service was not edifying. Twice a year Dr. Cooper held a Communicants' Class for poor parishioners who would not have cared to join his congregational Communicants' Class. It was my duty to search out persons likely to desire to attend the Class and to invite them to come. It was quite a common thing for Dr. Cooper to be seen hurrying along the East End of the City with a flagon of soup under his cloak. I am sure many an aged parishioner must have been grateful. He delighted in visiting his people, who were scattered all over the City. It took up a great deal of his time. He was always at it. How he managed to keep up his studies and do all the faithful visiting he did, I do not understand."

Of the Daily Services in Collieson's Aisle and St. Mary's Chapel, the same friend writes that "they were no better attended than such services elsewhere. Some poor folk attended faithfully, and the Service was as reverently conducted, although only two or three of such persons along with myself were present, as the Service on Sunday in the East Kirk." This was in early days. Another, however, says, of a later time, "Any stranger coming in must have been struck with the number of poor people who attended these. The ill-natured said that they were paid to go: that was certainly not true, but they got a kind word, and if they were ill they were missed and visited. One old woman said that she never knew what the Bible was till she heard it read straight through. I was a regular attender for years and only once on a very wild snowy day was I the only worshipper, but it made no difference to Dr. Cooper if he had many or few,—the Service went on as usual." The MS. volume of Services which he used (Morning and Evening for each day of the week) shows elaborate care and much fulness—they are admirable services, largely responsive.

I remember that when I was present once or twice I was struck with the way in which the responses were given ; for there were no prayer books or copies of the Service provided. Perfect familiarity served better than any book. There was one old lady with a sonorous contralto voice, almost a bass, who led us of the congregation—but she was amply supported by the rest. As for their age and poverty, they were taught that the aged and poor should be the especial supporters of such Services—the aged had leisure—the poor had much for which to pray : those who could do nothing else to aid the Church could do this : the poorest could give their prayers—and they did ; Sunday clothes were not needed for Collieson's Aisle.

Another former Assistant¹ writes : “ People were attracted to him by his original character and his unwearied pastoral care. His personal knowledge of the many members of his congregation was due to constant visitation. The Church was full every Sunday. I used to say that the East Church on an ordinary Sunday was like another Church on a Communion Sunday. Though he gave constant toil to the preparation of both sermons and services, he did not draw his large congregations by his sermons. They were too doctrinal to be interesting to men and women who had not passed through the Divinity Hall. On a special occasion, however, especially if it bore on history, he was great. On the Sunday of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, 1887, he preached a splendid sermon—I still remember a passage in which he compared the Royal Family with Windsor, ‘ at once Palace-like and homely ’—anticipating King George's decree. His keen sense of humour entirely deserted him in the pulpit. Speaking on Pentecost on one occasion, I have been told, he took up the charge that the Apostles were full of new wine, which he dismissed as being not only blasphemous but foolish—for drunkenness, so far from being able to make a man speak with other tongues, made him incapable of speaking his own. When he edited the Chartulary of St. Nicholas' for the New Spalding Club, on the title page describing himself as *in ecclesia supra-dicta presbyter*, a Professor in King's College attacked him in the Presbytery for using this designation. Dr. Cooper defended himself, adding that he remembered that St. Peter had called himself a Presbyter, and that he thought that a title which was good enough for St. Peter was good enough for him. The Pro-

¹ The Rev. R. W. Wallace, B.D., of St. Leonard's, St. Andrews.

fessor's objection was drowned in a storm of laughter. . . . Withal there was nothing of the Congregationalist about him. He was loyal to all Church Courts. In particular he did much to make the meeting of Synod a great function, gathering a special choir for the services and calling the congregation to worship. When he was made Moderator his old Assistants (dear Adamson had passed away) with great joy united to give him a present. He chose a revolving bookcase, which in a charming letter of thanks he called 'My silent Assistant.' "

As illustrating the spirit of his pastoral work, a letter from one of his clerical friends¹ may be quoted: "One day that I happened to be in Aberdeen I met Dr. Cooper in Union Street and I hardly ever saw him more excited and distressed [than he was] over news that he had just heard. A young member of the East Church had decided to go out as a Missionary under the auspices of the Plymouth Brethren. He was on his way to remonstrate with her and to ask her to reconsider her decision. He seemed to be bent on overwhelming her with arguments about the Church. An hour or so afterwards I again met him and asked the result of his interview. His answer was, 'I did not say one word of what I intended. She seemed to me to be clearly acting under a Divine call. So I could say nothing.' I often, after, admired Dr. Cooper's earnestness; but, knowing as I did, his view of Plymouth Brethren doctrine, I knew what silence cost him, and I do not think that I ever admired him more."

The General Assembly of 1896 adopted a course which was for a couple of years to add considerably to all these labours. The Disestablishment attack was over; the Church had peace. But during its troubled course, pledges had been given to the country that the Church, if continued in its national position, would set itself to supply what was lacking and to correct what was amiss. For the redemption of these pledges John Macleod, who had led the successful campaign in Church defence during 1895, held himself personally responsible, and he at once addressed himself to obtain their fulfilment. The way was opened by an Overture moved by him in the Presbytery of Glasgow to deal with the whole need disclosed by a Commission on the Religious Condition of the people which was to report that year. In the Assembly Macleod asked for a Special

¹ The Rev. Robert Paisley of Careston.

Committee to prepare "one comprehensive scheme" to deal with the questions of Pastorate in all its aspects, and of material resource. The Assembly unanimously adopted the Overture and appointed a huge Committee of some two hundred members, the very flower and force of the Church—remitting to it the subjects of legislative action required and of Reform. Macleod and his friend Martin of Lauder presided over the latter department. It worked in five sections, presided over by some of the wisest Churchmen then living,—Cameron Lees, Theodore Marshall, Marshall Lang, Professor Cowan, Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Wallace Williamson, with Macleod himself for the financial section. Cooper had his part allotted to him, convening (along with Mr. Wm. Robertson)¹ the section dealing with *Evangelistic Agencies and Training of Workers*. His share of the work involved frequent journeys to Edinburgh and the preparation of long and laborious memoranda. The years 1896-1897 were strenuous years for all involved in the evolution of the "comprehensive scheme," and some of them were busy enough without that added burden.

July as usual brought relaxation, this time in the form of a week in Northumberland, with visits to Otterburn, Hexham, and Chillingham.² Cooper returned to Edinburgh for a couple of days' work on the new Committee; and visited Dunning Manse, now the home of his old College friend, Dr. Thomson, who writes of the pleasure which his stay with them afforded: "Our young people were delighted with this visit, and no wonder. From his treasures of things both new and old, he, more than anybody they ever met, gave them information of a quaint and valuable kind, such as they could never hope to find in any book. It was easily seen that his love for children was a decided feature of his most attractive personality." Among other things which charmed the children was the discovery that this grave and reverend senior loved rasps, and called them "raasps." From Dunning he was carried north by his friend Cromarty Smith to visit the Shetlands and to spend some time in Unst, of which the Rev. William Smith, Cromarty Smith's father, was the honoured and beloved Minister. There Cooper learned what a plantie-cruive is and how a kettle-oven works to produce delicious bread; met repre-

¹ The Rev. William Robertson, D.D., of Coltness, sometime Convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Life and Work.

² See *A Raid into Northumberland*, Scott. Eccles. Soc. Transactions, 1898, by the Rev. J. F. Leishman, B.D., of Linton.

sentatives of the Udallers, was caused to climb the rugged and indeed difficult ridges of Crucifield Hill and to adventure himself to the Skaw of Unst, "where North Sea meets Atlantic," made pilgrimage to the gaunt ruins of churches (in Scotland we habitually take our guests to see ruins, having little else to show)—Haroldswick, Cross, Barthkirk, Nordwick with its strange round-topped grave crosses and Sandwick with its "possible" lepers' skew and long ridged grave stones:—these, with other like matters of interest which make a visit to Shetland delightful, the diary-notes record—as also the "elasticity" of a hospitable Shetland Manse. Orally his account of the visit included plaintive reference to the inconvenience of a youthful companion who could not see water without an immediate impulse to fish it; and there are few points of view in Unst from which some loch or fishable creek is not visible. The October of that year saw the last of the Trossachs retreats, memorable to those who attended it, if for nothing else, for the fantastic loveliness of the dawns of which, as we hurried to seven o'clock Service, we had a glimpse. It was, I think, better attended than some of those before it, but still too scantily to encourage perseverance in the series. The method was unfamiliar—possibly we Scots prefer Conference, where we can each say his say, to prolonged efforts of devotion and submission to spiritual exhortation. All the more perhaps we have need of that discipline.

Cooper's holiday for 1897 was spent chiefly in London and at Canterbury. It was the year of the "Lambeth Conference" and there were gatherings, such as that of the Home Reunion Association, which keenly interested him and at which he and Lord Nelson renewed their friendship. In December, the Scottish Church Society, fulfilling its purpose to visit the University seats and chief towns of Scotland, held its Conference (the third) at Aberdeen; and Cooper was of course much occupied in its arrangements, which fell chiefly upon him. The outstanding feature of the Conference was an extraordinarily vivid and powerful address by John Macleod on the significance of the Acts of the Eucharist—unforgettable. Its teaching was afterwards expanded into a volume posthumously printed for his friends under the title, *The Gospel in the Holy Communion*.¹ Cooper contributed excellent papers on the "various forms of the

¹ Now at last to be published.

Ministry of preaching " and on the " present requirements of Christian apologetics."

The semi-jubilee of Cooper's ordination fell on Easter Eve, 1898. In his Parish Magazine for April he had asked the prayers of his people on that day, looking back to which he spoke of it as " the most solemn and momentous of his life." Holy Week observance in the East Church was by that time fully developed. A series of distinguished preachers spoke at the successive Morning Services of the events of each day of our Lord's Conflict, and in the Evening of the " School of Calvary " and its Lessons. On the Saturday evening Dr. Theodore Marshall was the speaker and called the congregation to a period of silent and united prayer for their Minister. The occasion elicited many evidences of affection and esteem for him; there were presentations to himself and to his mother and gifts of thank-offering—given for the service of St. Mary's Chapel, whose restoration was approaching completion. There were congratulatory dinners given by the Presbytery (in which Mr. Calder of St. Machar's, also attaining his semi-jubilee, was included), and by his own Guild of St. Nicholas. And there was the more remarkable demonstration of a Citizens' Meeting in the Music Hall to arrange for " marking in a substantial way " the general good-will toward the Minister of the East Kirk.

Cooper was a member of the 1898 Assembly, but does not seem to have taken much part in its proceedings—perhaps he had not the heart to do so; it was a dreary Assembly for those who were in any degree of his way of thinking. In the previous Assembly of 1897 the massive Report of the Reform Committee had been welcomed, Macleod dominating the discussion of it in a very marvellous manner; and its recommendations had been, with slight modifications, approved and referred for discussion by Presbyteries or for fuller consideration by the Reform Committee itself in consultation with Standing Committees. But measures which cannot well be resisted in the larger air of the Assembly may be crushed in local Courts. The key-stone of the Reform Scheme had been the " extension of the Pastorate," and proposals thereanent were among the things referred to Presbyteries. Presbyteries, it appeared, were practically unanimous in rejecting these. The Presbytery of Glasgow did not return Dr. Macleod as a representative—he was barred from supporting his own Report, and

the Assembly was preserved from the influence of his overwhelming advocacy ; section by section, page by page, his work was in effect torn up. The Reform Committee was discharged. Two months later Dr. John Macleod was dead—of a fever which most readily finds its hold where exhaustion has sapped vital resistance. Many hopes died with him. The last letter which he wrote was to Lord Balfour, pressing Cooper's claim to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, which had fallen vacant by the appointment in June of Dr. Story to the Principalship.

Cooper was encouraged to make this application by the urgency of many friends. He had hesitated to do so—he was happy in Aberdeen, and the recent incidents of his semi-jubilee had shown him that he was more than valued. At the same time he probably felt that he had developed his work there as far as meantime it could be carried and that its burden must soon outpass his strength. The modest income of his incumbency had become strained as his pastoral responsibilities increased, and though the emoluments of the Chair were less, so were the demands of the professorial position. He had always looked forward to a Chair in one of the Universities as his proper sphere and, as he was now fifty-two years old, every year that passed told against the probability of successful candidature. Such hesitation as he felt was speedily reassured. He speaks of being decided by the advice which he received, of being “much encouraged by Dr. Scott and Dr. Cameron Lees” and of the “kindness” of Dr. Mitford Mitchell, Dr. Marshall Lang, Dr. Sprott, and of others who are still with us. Any remaining doubt was made impossible by the response to his requests for testimonials ; these came from all quarters and all parties, and when printed bulked into something like a volume, and many of them were couched in remarkable terms of commendation. The list of fifty-three included testimonials from thirteen past or future Moderators of General Assembly, from ten occupants of Chairs, from several dignitaries of the Church of England and from laymen of distinction and weight.

Cooper was certainly gratified by such testimonies—who would not have been?—but not puffed up. He spoke of them with a certain amused sense of what seemed to him their exaggeration of his merits—“the learning of a Porson ! the eloquence of a Chrysostom ! ” It was, I think, a revelation to him of the place which he held in the estimation of

his fellows and of the confidence which he had won from men who by no means sympathised with his special positions. He himself had no over-pitched valuation of his qualifications and could speak of them with a fine humility. After his retirement from Glasgow he wrote of himself :—" I was always rather the pastor taking up Church History than the historian pure and simple—I was always a bit of an amateur, though I think that I saw the universality of our subject " : but in this he was much less than just to himself—that he was a pastor as well as a historian was a principal part of his fitness for a post, one duty of which at least is to train pastors ; and better judges than he could be of himself guaranteed his scholarly equipment, which with a certain noble modesty he dedicated to duties that to him were always in the first place a service in the Church of God and a cure of souls. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, then Secretary for Scotland, the most careful and conscientious of patrons, told me that the appointment was made purely on merits, the testimony borne to Cooper being irresistible.

J. Macleod to Cooper : (1898—no date) : " I am *delighted* with your testimonials. You are already reaping in joy what you have sown in tears, and you should praise God. How many of us feel as if it was even [now] too late to sow better seed or new. I cherish a confident hope that you will succeed. . . . I think of the coming *Institute*¹ and of local problems which are exercising me, and my heart sings in the *hope*."

Dr. George Bell² to Cooper : " 23rd July, 1898 : It is eminently gratifying to you and to us all, this outburst of confidence in you on the part of many who can scarcely be said to be exactly of our views. The tribute is great to the power of that childlike honesty and straight-forwardness which have ever marked anything you did or undertook. You have gained *respect* even from enemies, and this is very much. If anything happens adverse to you, it will greatly surprise us. If merit is to be considered the Chair is yours."

" July 27th, 1898 : Letter from Lord Balfour in the kindest terms. He has nominated me to the Queen for the Chair at Glasgow. After writing to him, I went to Gillingham Church (delightful retreat) and prayed for pardon for

¹ A projected Pastoral Institute, in connection with the Divinity Hall, Glasgow.

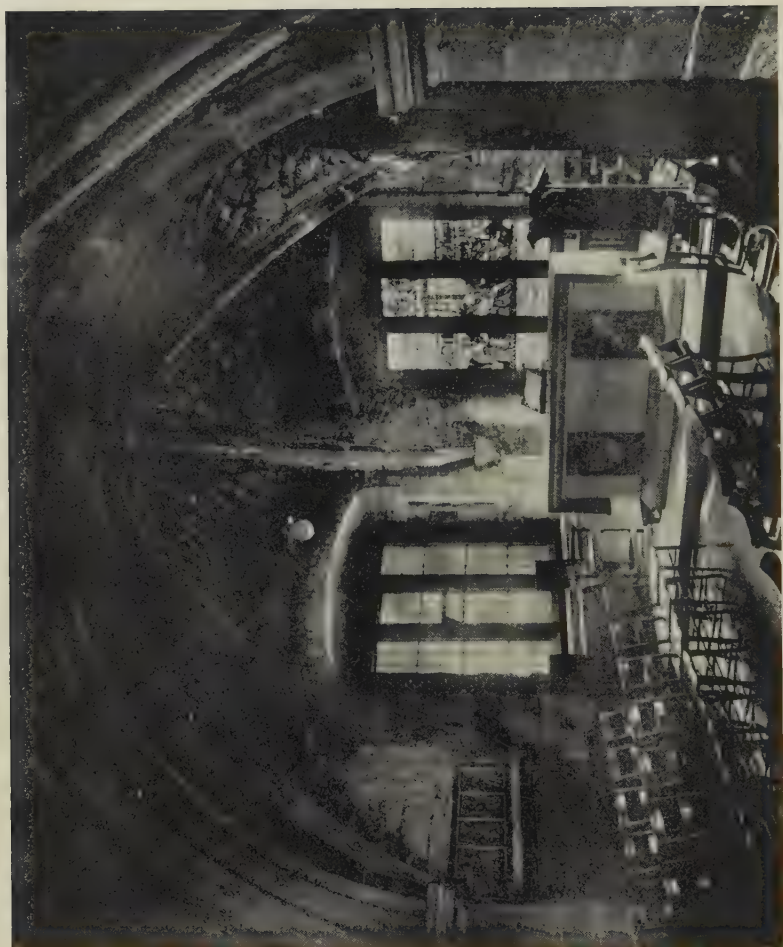
² The late Rev. George Bell, M.U.S.D., of St. Kenneth's, Govan.

the errors of my pastoral ministry and grace for the discharge of my new duties. Lord, I am Thy servant—fit me for Thy work.”

“ August 4th: ‘ At Govan Manse, 7-45 a.m.—the Rev. John Macleod, D.D., aged 58.’ I saw the sad news announced on the bills as I drove from St. Enoch’s Station. Called on Principal Story at 8, The College—my house to be. Then went by sub-way to Govan to condole with —— and —— . What a loss to me and to the whole Church ! ”

There were, however, still some months of the incumbency of the East Kirk to be fulfilled. He presented his Commission to the Glasgow Senatus in October and began lecturing towards the end of that month, but did not finally resign his charge at St. Nicholas’ till November, and meantime had several important functions to carry out—in the first place a Memorial to be dedicated to Dr. Milligan, and next the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Consecration of St. Nicholas’ Church, preceded by the re-opening and re-dedication of St. Mary’s Chapel. The Services were full and stately, and extended from September 30th to October 12th. Dr. Thomas Leishman of Linton, Moderator for that year, preached on October 1st, the day of the re-dedication, and on the following Sunday ; while Mr. Adamson of St. Margaret’s (Barnhill), Mr. Wallace of St. Leonard’s (St. Andrews), Mr. Cæsar of Panbride, former Assistants, as well as Dr. Wallace Williamson, Mr. Macleod of Buchanan, and others, took service on later days. The Order of Service and Prayers were closely modelled and adapted from the Pontifical of William de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews in the middle years of the thirteenth century, employed by him in the consecration of forty-two parish churches. The restoration is successful and satisfactory, owing everything to the gratuitous supervision of three distinguished Aberdeen Architects, members of the local branch of the Ecclesiological Society, and has given back to Aberdeen a most interesting fifteenth century place of worship.

“ After the Reformation ” (so a local newspaper stated) “ and when it became known as, by a refinement of sarcasm, the Pity Vault (it had been known earlier as the Lower Church of our Lady of Pity) it was by turns a prison for witches and a plumber’s shop, becoming later on and more appropriately the first Gaelic Chapel in Aberdeen, and in the beginning of the [nineteenth] century a Soup Kitchen.” In 1837 it had been divided into three compartments,



CHAPEL OF ST. MARY OF PITY (CRYPT OF ST. NICHOLAS ABERDEEN), AS RESTORED.

library, Session House and Vestry for the East Kirk, fitted with "presses, seats and wardrobes" made from the old carved oak of the church above which was then rebuilt—of which so much at least was thus preserved from being used as firewood. This oak has now been utilised in fitting up the restored Chapel with panelling and benching. It was matter of abiding joy to Cooper that he had been privileged to initiate this undertaking and to see it completed while still Minister of the Church. His own peculiar share in the plan of restoration was the preparation of the scheme of windows, which were to be filled with glass illustrative of the life of the Blessed Virgin from whom the Chapel is named, thirteen lights in all ; but the work as a whole must be always associated with his ministry, and as one has said, "should keep his memory in Aberdeen green for hundreds of years."

He returned to Aberdeen in November for his farewell Services and again for the Christmas Eve Midnight Service and the Christmas Celebration. But he was no longer Minister of the East Kirk and the legal steps for his replacement had begun before this last goodbye was completed.

CHAPTER IX

FIRST YEARS OF GLASGOW

THE change from the incessant and exacting toil of a great City Charge to the measured responsibility and reasonable demands of a Chair in a Divinity Faculty came to Dr. Cooper as a great relief. He had been happy in Aberdeen—though, as he once said to me, his incumbency there “was not always a bed of roses,” he has himself told that he was happy in each of the positions which he successively occupied, carrying into each a blessed cheerfulness and a singular faculty for discovering its amenities. But the years of his Glasgow Professorship were certainly those in which life smiled on him most kindly. The dignity of the position, the orderly sequence and regulated ceremonial of Academic custom, satisfied one of his instincts. His duties coincided with his favourite pursuit—historical research—and with his didactic habits. He retained what, after all, he valued more—his ministerial position, his place in the Church Courts, and a full part in the discussion and decision of emergent questions of ecclesiastical and religious interest. His work was still, if he chose to have it so, pastoral work. His peculiar pleasure had always been in the youth of his successive congregations; he loved young men and their society, and at Aberdeen young men flocked round him, conscious of his affection and sympathy:—now God had given him his life-work to be among young men. And now at last he had leisure—leisure of soul, freedom from those “worries of the pastoral life” to which he refers pathetically—and for a large part of the year absolute freedom; not freedom to be idle—he had lost the power to be idle and was entirely unable to lounge for more than, say, half an hour between one activity and the next—but freedom to be busy in his own way and to pursue his own ideas and (very specially) to help other people to obtain that rest which he did not seem to need for himself. The change

from the strenuous, anxious, overcrowded Aberdeen days was great, and Cooper's enjoyment of the new life was obvious, and to his friends delightful. From the first he loved it—not less that at the first it was toilsome. He lectured twice a day, and one may suppose on at least three days of the week—possibly for more when in the earlier months of a Session there were no written examinations nor the hearing of homilies to occupy class hours—and indeed, if one may surmise from diary notes, Cooper was not intent on such relief from lecturing, but customarily heard “discourses” read in private. For that first Session he had not only to organise his schemes of teaching and arrange his material, but to write (and it was his habit to write fully) every lecture as each morrow demanded its preparation. Many of us, it is likely, have on occasion written our two sermons on one day, but few would care to do this for many days consecutively—and a Professor's lecture is longer than a sermon. Cooper must in those days have needed all his fluency of script. Shortly after his induction to the Chair he writes to Dr. Sprott: “The University, Glasgow, 21st December, 1898: Thanks for your most kind letter which interested me much. I am actually *enjoying* my work and have none of the worries which come upon the pastor, for my students are attention itself, and are far more sympathetic than I could have expected. But the work is hard and sometimes more than I am able for. After the first Session it should be manageable.”

The same to the same: “January 30th, 1899: I am still more delighted with my class. They have not only received everything I have said with open-minded kindness, but have continued without exception to pay marked attention to my lectures, and I have seen nothing of ‘fastness’ or heterodoxy among any of them. Of course I am awfully busy and some of my lectures have been of a makeshift description. But on the whole I have got on wonderfully. Glasgow moreover has in our case abundantly supported its reputation for hospitality. I am still Jacobite enough to be full of memories of the Royal Martyr to-day.”

However busy the week might be, Sunday was seldom a day of rest for the new Professor. He loved preaching, and he loved to be helpful; so far as Pulpit work goes to constitute the duty of the minister, (and that is far less than seems to be supposed), Cooper was almost as busy in it still

as he had ever been. From his going to Glasgow and right on he undertook services as he was needed and as he was asked, regarding such invitations as an opportunity rather than as an exaction. He preached in important churches and at "Special Services" of all kinds—for them naturally his help was much sought; they gave him the occasions in using which he excelled—but he had a peculiar pleasure in officiating in the more obscure churches of the City and in coming to the aid of his poorer and less prominent brethren, and constantly offered himself for duty when he thought there was need of relief. "I can give you such and such a Sunday," he would say: "I will take it entirely, and you will go away and be quiet." It was to him one of the privileges of his position that he was free to do this, and it was done with a brotherly frankness which made no secret of the pleasure which was sought. No wonder that James Cooper was warmly and affectionately regarded by his fellow ministers. Later on, as he became known in Glasgow for what he was, his help was freely asked and as freely given outside of the Church of Scotland. A disengaged Sunday came to be the exception in his week, and after a while one finds him offering his assistance to a friend on "his first free Sunday for three years." When he took up residence in Glasgow he attached himself to Oatlands, a large working class parish in the South-East part of the city, whose Minister was an old friend with whose teaching and methods he was in full sympathy. He became a member of its Session and it was as such that he thenceforth took his place in the Courts of the Church and their Committees. Oatlands was, however, too far from Gilmorehill to allow his mother to worship there; she attended St. Bride's Church, Partick, and he, when not engaged elsewhere, with her, generally to read the lessons. He found rest and refreshing in the services there and entered happily into its parochial activity.

In his classes he emphasised the devotional element, opening each with Psalm and Scripture reading. After a few years he notes that, whereas at first, his students joined audibly only in the *Gloria Patri*, they had come "willingly and readily" to recite them with him responsively. One of them¹ writes:—"Perhaps the most striking thing of his class was the regular devotion of the first five or six minutes to worship, beginning with a hymn: but I believe I was still more impressed by his bringing in a little pile of brick-

¹ The Rev. J. A. G. Thomson, B.D., of Hawick.

coloured copies of the New Testament, the Revised Version, and without remark upon the object giving each of the class the gift of a copy. A great deal of time was spared by the summation already inscribed on the black-board. Dr. Cooper had the pastoral gift of shewing that he knew the home life of his students." At the end of the first Session of his Professoriate the Holy Communion was, on his initiative, celebrated by Dr. Donald Macleod in the Park Church on a week-day morning, specially "for Students"; and he notes in his diary the presence of five or six of the clergy of the City. This Celebration was repeated in the next year, 1900; and in 1901 he records an early Celebration (preceded by a Service of Preparation on the previous Thursday) on a Sunday in March at the Students' Settlement at Springburn. Later these services were transferred to Belmont Church, in whose parish the University buildings are situated.

There were no summer Sessions in those days to break the long vacation of a Divinity Professor, and it became Dr. Cooper's habit to undertake parish duty for some months each Autumn. I think that he enjoyed intensely the opportunity of return to pastoral work. Most of us who take such holiday work are content, one may imagine, to find professional demands at their minimum and to limit ourselves for the time of our tenancy to the strictly requisite. Cooper on the contrary found his relaxation from the academic in the pastoral, and made the most of every parochial occasion for his services, discovering the sick, visiting the aged, putting himself in evidence in any function or ceremony which might occur, and generally entering into the life of the neighbourhood with that friendly eagerness which made him universally welcome. Parish work, which is the regular incumbent's year-long toil, was for him his hobby, and when he could he plunged into it and revelled in it, as other holiday-makers do in golf or fishing, magnifying his office as Parish Minister *pro tempore*. One thought sometimes with a certain compassion of a man who should return to his Parish to find what pace his substitute had in his absence been setting for him, and the enthusiasm of appreciation which had been created. Nevertheless he was often enough asked to return. These holidays of his were extremely busy times and would have exhausted most people. His curious and detailed acquaintance with Scottish history, art, biography and literature, discovered to him matter of note and interest, archæological, genealogical, ecclesiological, in any district;

there were things prehistoric, Roman remains, great houses of great families and long association, farms or cottages where someone had been born or had lived or had died, ruined peels, scenes of ballad incident, Manses of once famous Divines, modernised Churches which still retained some feature or fragment of antiquity or at least stood on ancient sites. All these had to be visited and the results of the visit to be recorded, and his stored knowledge of the historical minutiae of Scotland increased. There were the neighbouring clergy to be waited upon and to be entertained, old friendships to be revived and new friendships to be cultivated. There was some literary task to occupy the mornings. And there was a stream of visitors—these holiday summer months in country manses were his opportunity of leisure to exercise hospitality towards his innumerable relatives and intimates, whom it was his great pleasure to carry with him in his local explorations. And withal there was his delight in nature to be shared with such friends; his diary constantly notes the glory of some purple mountain mass, the beauty of a river, or the wealth of a cultivated landscape, such as, after all, he preferred to anything of the grandiose or picturesque. During his first professorial vacation Dr. Cooper took charge of St. Bride's for July and of Lesmahagow for August, September and October. He notes his visit to Craignethan (Tillietudlem)—“It is just one hundred years since Scott visited the place he was to make so famous, and this (August 15th) is the anniversary of his death”; and of course Drumclog, where he saw the bloodstained drum and the banner which are preserved as relics of “our covenanting forefathers' victory over Claverhouse and his dragoons,” and the cave on the Nethan which is “pointed out as the spot described in *Old Mortality* as Balfour of Burley's hiding place”; and somewhere encountered “a schoolmaster who thought no man could be a patriotic Scotsman who was not a Radical and a Presbyterian, and that Episcopacy meant that no one but the bishop had any interest in the Church.” How diligently he had served the people of Lesmahagow for those three months was shown when in the following January a deputation from the Parish appeared at 8, The College, to present him with an Address expressing their appreciation and gratitude.

“August 4th: Anniversary of Dr. John Macleod's death. Mother and I went to the (daily) 5 o'clock Service at Govan: eighty present. Many in mourning. Service: Par. 53;

Pss. xvi, xxiii, cxxxii ; Dan. xii ; Heb. xiii, from v. 7 ; Dr. Macleod's own hymn—' Mourn not the holy Dead ' ; Sermon by the Rev. R. Kirkpatrick, Heb. xiii, 7."

" September 25th : Dedication of Macleod Memorial Window, Govan. Superb Service. Dr. Story closed his address with '*Lux perpetua sanctis Tuis, Domine.*'"

With the winter he began work on an Edition of the *Testamentum Domini*, in collaboration with Canon Maclean¹ of Inverness, of which he remarks a year later—" Finished my work on the *Testamentum Domini*. Mr. Maclean has done by far the greater part of it." The Christmas vacation allowed him to visit Aberdeen for the occasion of the final incident of his East Church incumbency : " December 23rd : Window (by Mr. Whall) in St. Mary's [Chapel] : presented in name of subscribers by Sir William Geddes, in memory of my ministry in Aberdeen : dedicated by Mr. Walker. Chalice² (designed by J. C. Watt) presented to me by hands of Dr. Alexander Walker—dedicated." " December 25th : Celebrate at St. Bride's, 11. (Sermon on ' This shall be a sign unto you.' My Chalice used for the first time. Mother present.)" These vessels continued to be used for celebration in St. Bride's on Christmas mornings until Dr. Cooper's removal from Glasgow.

Following upon the Report of the Commission on the

¹ Now Bishop of Moray and Ross.

² The Chalice and Paten, which Dr. Cooper very greatly valued, are, as Mr. Wm. Kelly observes, " of so unusual a character that the preservation of a description is of some interest." The Chalice of silver, parcel gilt, stands eight inches high on a six-foil base. Above the inscription band runs a moulding in green enamel, set with twelve carbuncles and twelve pearls alternately. The base has six discs of enamel, showing the Crucifixion, the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in its Piety, and then, with reference to the scenes of Dr. Cooper's ministry, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary of Pity. The six-sided shaft is marked by a gilt annulet, set with six yellow cornelians. The six facets of the Knob are divided by six agate colonnettes, and carry each a small disc enamel representing an Angel carrying one of the Instruments of the Passion. The very graceful bowl rests on a gilt rose set with pearls.

The inscription, by Sir Wm. D. Geddes, runs :—*Viro Reverendo Jacobo Cooper S. S. T.D. et Prof. Presbyteri officio in Eccles. S. Nicolai Aberd. diu perfuncto Hunc Calicem Benedictionis Honorificum Amici Benevolentes Fausta Omnia Glasguam Abeunti Comprecantes Donarunt. Anno Salutis MDCCCXCVIII.*

Mr. J. Cromar Watt not only designed the Chalice and Paten but executed the enamels and colouring. The Silversmith work was executed by Mr. George Mitchell, Aberdeen.

By Dr. Cooper's testamentary arrangements these Vessels will pass ultimately to the East Church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, " for use in the celebration of the Sacrament of the Holy Communion in the Chapel of St. Mary of Pity or in the said East Parish Church of S. Nicholas, and in the administration of the said Holy Communion to the sick."

Religious Condition of the People, and moved perhaps by the criticisms of the Reform Committee upon the existing system of the Church, perhaps too by a not unkindly sense of the potential value of conference such as had been illustrated by those of the Scottish Church Society, the General Assembly of 1898 had developed the idea of "going to the laity" on an open platform, and had appointed a Committee on Church Congresses,—Dr. Marshall Lang and Dr. Story its Conveners—and the first Congress was appointed to be held in the Autumn in Glasgow. At the outset there was some difference of opinion as to the scope of discussion to be contemplated. There were rules for the Congress to be prepared, and the draft of these as first adopted contained a rule which excluded the discussion of doctrine, and as soon as preparation of the programme of the Congress topics was taken in hand, the presence of this rule was challenged. No such limitation of topic was found necessary in the very important and successful Congresses of the Church of England. The question of relations to the Confession of Faith was coming to the front, and its discussion in Congress might help to ascertain opinion on the subject and might prepare the way for its treatment in Church Courts. Later, at the Congress itself, Dr. Scott expressed the hope that "by means of it the proper business of the General Assembly would be greatly lightened," and Confessional subjects were no doubt soon to be a principal business of the Assembly. On the other hand, it might be thought that comparison with the Anglican Congresses was misleading, since these were unofficial, while the Congress under consideration was to be held "under the authority of the General Assembly," which could hardly be thought to intend to throw topics of the Faith into such an arena as the Congress would constitute, and which might be placed in an awkward position if called to judge the orthodoxy of statements which it had thus itself invited. The control of teaching did not in the same sense exist in the Church of England, and could not there as here be called into exercise by the petition of the common informer. And further, it had been understood that the object of the Conference was, as its president said in his opening Sermon, "the discussion of subjects affecting the practical efficiency of the Church." The rule, however, was deleted, but its consideration had perhaps had its effect, since in the short series of Congresses which followed, no occasion arose on which it would have been applicable. Cooper, who was

Convener of the Programme Sub-Committee, was, of course, keenly interested in the question of its retention.

"July 21st (1899): Congress Committee. Proposal to omit Rule 2 (which forbids selection of doctrinal questions: the Congress cannot treat the Church's Faith as a bundle of open questions)."

To Dr. Spratt: "2nd August, 1899: I am so glad that you have agreed to speak at the Congress, and also to find that your mind on the subject of doctrinal discussion is exactly that of — and me. I thought it might be possible to exclude only the *very* fundamental points, and suggested the exclusion of 'subjects entering into the substance of the Faith.' I have no intention of making sport on subjects so solemn for the amusement of the Philistines, and therefore, if the Rule excluding theological points is not retained, — and I will withdraw from the Congress. I fear the excision of the Rule will be pressed: so it is necessary to be ready." The programme resolved on proved inoffensive and Cooper did not withdraw.

To the same: "25th November, 1899: I have just returned from the Dedication of the Memorial Windows at Govan. We had an immense congregation and a most magnificent Service. The act of dedication was performed by Dr. Leishman; the address was by Dr. Story, and the Moderator gave—or rather assayed to give—the benediction, for he went through it. Dr. Story's address was good, and he closed it with '*Lux perpetua Sanctis Tuis, Domine.*' We shall see if anyone will take notice of it in *him*."

"I send you copies of the services, one for you, and the other for the Library of the Church Service Society. The prayer following the Act of Dedication was composed by Dr. Leishman. The window is very pure in colour and distinct in outline. The figures are small, but with so many subjects that could not be helped and perhaps is no blemish. Among the '*Spirits*' to whom CHRIST is preaching are David, Adam and Eve, and St. John Baptist,—scarcely the *Spirits in prison* whom St. Peter specified! But it is well to have the *Descensus* represented. Many of the congregation were visibly affected. There was a good muster of the clergy, but we missed *you*. I have a very good class this year—the quality first-rate, though the *numbers* are scanty."

"We are already looking forward to the Twentieth Jubilee of the University—in 1901. I hope (D.V.) you will be my

guest on the occasion. I am desirous of having a complete list of the portraits of our great divines. You might be thinking who should be included."

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 which promulgated the well-known *Quadrilateral* as a basis for Home Reunion had requested the various authorities of the branches of the Anglican Communion "to make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference" with representatives of other Christian Communions with a view to better relations. That of 1897 had advanced upon this position. The Committee on the subject had expressed the opinion that these authorities "should themselves originate such conferences and especially arrange for representative meetings for united humiliation and intercession," and the Conference had resolved that the Bishops everywhere be urged to appoint Committees of Bishops "to watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different Christian bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked in this matter." In pursuance of this resolution Dr. Wilkinson, the Bishop of St. Andrews, a man held in profound respect by all parties in England as well as in Scotland, felt himself required to take initiative upon it here. After so many years it is not easy to recover the detail of a movement which was necessarily conducted in meetings which excluded reporters and published no record of proceedings. Cooper had apparently projected some fresh departure in the interests of reunion, and I think regretted that initiative in that regard should be allowed to pass from the National Church to the Episcopal Communion—he had learnt long before from Dr. Bisset¹ that the duty of making "first overtures" lay with ourselves rather than with them. Under the date June 30th, 1899, there is an entry in his diary which seems to refer to some meeting having that object: "(To) Edinburgh, 11 (a.m.). St. Cuthbert's Session House 1-30. Dr. Sprott ready for Association for promotion of Imperial Reunion": and among his papers there is a draft of a circular which may probably be that which he then submitted.

¹ See p. 60.

SUGGESTED CIRCULAR

Private and Confidential.

SIR,

Probably never since the convulsions of the sixteenth century broke up the close union of Western Christendom has there been so widely diffused as at the present time a longing on the part of Christians for the corporate Reunion of the Church. God has been everywhere moving His people to pray for the healing of the breaches of Zion. And not least in Scotland, where within the last few years Presbyterians and Episcopalians have alike been led to understand one another better and to see the great and manifold evils of their separation and to long for a reunion. It is our duty "to buy up every opportunity of doing good": and though those who address you feel deeply their own unworthiness to take any action in the matter, yet they venture to set before you a plan which seems likely to promote the cause so many have at heart and to invite your sympathy and your co-operation therein.

It is proposed to form a *Scottish Reconciliation Society*, the object of which would be to prepare the way for the Reunion of Scottish Christians in one Church. The Society would unite all who would agree "to speak the truth in love," "to seek the things that make for peace," and to pray daily for the reunion of Scottish Christians in God's good time and way. The methods would be, united prayer: mutual frank conference, and the publication of irenical literature. And its immediate aims would be:—

Ist. To awaken good people throughout Scotland to a sense of the inherent sinfulness of divisions among Christians.

IIInd. To deepen the longing for reunion and to give it hope.

And IIIrd. To prepare a way for the coming together of the authorities of various communions and for their devising terms of reunion in a spirit of self-sacrifice.

It is believed that if men really felt the need of unity, much that at present divides us would be found capable of a satisfactory settlement; but the proposed Society would not commit its members to anything further than a sincere endeavour after reunion.

You will perceive of course that, as yet, the matter is in a suggestive and tentative stage only; if, however, you so far sympathise with the objects of the proposed Society as to be willing to join it, if formed, will you be good enough to intimate the same to one of those who now address you.

We are, Sir,

.....

If so, his proposal was superseded by the results of a more important meeting which was held on the same afternoon :—

“ 2-45 : Conference on (Lambeth proposals) Reunion. Agreed on a Day of Intercession for Visible Unity or Reunion. Committee appointed to draw up request to General Assembly, F.C. Assembly, U.P. Synod. *Laus Deo.*” The list given of those present includes six Bishops, Dr. Scott, Dr. D. Macleod, Dr. Sprott, Dr. Leishman, Dr. MacGregor, Dr. Cameron Lees, Mr. Adamson, Dr. Lang, Dr. Bannerman, Mr. Scotland, Dr. McEwen, and others who are still with us. The meeting, as one remembers, not too clearly, was unanimous and hearty. One incident abides in recollection : Dr. MacGregor was speaking with Celtic fervour of the blessedness of the prospect of fellowship in all things sacred which the movement held out, certain of their fruition, if not now, then there, in Heaven ; when one of the juniors present asked pertinently :—“ But if there, why not here ? ” The interruption had a visible effect on what followed, and Dr. Wilkinson afterwards thanked the interrupter and desired his better acquaintance. The Conference adjourned, to meet again early in the following year. Cooper’s note on that occasion runs :—“ Edinburgh : 11-30, Reunion meeting—Roxburghe Hotel. Bishop of S. Andrews (Wilkinson) in chair. Bishops of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Drs. Charteris, Lang, Story, Scott, Leishman, Mair, Hunter, Cowan, Sprott, etc.—(a united Church of Scotland) ; Dr. Robson, U.P. Moderator, Drs. MacEwen, Stalker, Laidlaw, etc. All resolutions carried, the only dissentient voice being Mr. Taylor Innes, who described this movement as coming at right angles to the Union of U.P. and Free Churches (!) But it moves and will move.” The Conference appointed a Committee,—thirty in number—of which Cooper was a member, to prepare a “ Statement ” for publication. This was submitted to the Conference in May and published in December. It asked support in view of its purpose to ask for a Day of Intercession. It obtained about 2,250 signatures, clerical and lay ; perhaps a fourth of them are clerical, and represent all the four fragments of the broken Church of Scotland which joined in the movement. The lay signatures include those of laymen of much weight. The Committee of the Conference felt justified in proposing to approach the General Assemblies and governing Synods, and in the following May received the authority of

the Conference to do so, but apparently too late for the Assemblies of that year.

Very few letters of 1900, unless of purely domestic interest, have come to hand, and on the whole it was in Cooper's life uneventful. In January the Church Society had its fourth Conference, this time in St. Andrews. One remembers the terrible blank felt in the absence of Dr. John Macleod, and the sense of bereavement. The general topic was that of worship "in Spirit and in truth," and Cooper took the papers on the *Responsory Element in Divine Service*, on the *Reading of the Scriptures*, and on *Benediction*. There were subordinate discussions on the Evangelical basis of Churchmanship, on the Dearth of Candidates for the Holy Ministry, which was then begun to be felt, on the Lay Element in Church Government, and on Unity and Schism. In the last named of them Cooper dealt with the Lambeth proposals of 1898. Of the forty or more papers which were read, most were good, and some, such as Dr. Flint's on the place in worship of the Sermon, were of high value. Unfortunately (for guidance on the principles of worship was sufficiently needed), considerations of finance interfered with their publication. A volume dealing only with the Worship papers was contemplated and in part prepared, but went no further than preparation, and if issued now would still have worth: for principles do not alter.

Cooper writes of it to a friend: "6th February, 1900: I have an invitation, of which I hope to avail myself, to visit the Bishop of Bath and Wells, at Wells, in the end of May. I am the more anxious to go as the Theological College there is said to be one of the best in England, and we hope to have a Residential Hall for our Students of Divinity on somewhat similar lines.

"The St. Andrews Conference was more than a success: it was a delight and an inspiration. There was nothing to mar in any way the enjoyment of the proceedings (save the sense of what we had lost in Dr. John Macleod); and the papers were beautiful, sometimes masterly. We got the use of the College Church, Mr. Wallace's: and Mr. Nisbet¹ delighted and surprised everyone with his music. It was a delight beyond words to me to get the benefit of these Services again, and I showed it by taking all the Daily Services myself! Dr. Leishman celebrated. I am sure we made a good impression at St. Andrews and several new

¹ Mr. J. M. Nisbet, Organist, East Church, Aberdeen.

members are joining us. . . . The discussion on Unity was of special importance at the present time and shewed how several difficulties may be surmounted. We were all of one mind, and the Conference has served an important end in shewing us this ; the publication of these papers (on Unity) may be in a separate pamphlet, but we are waiting a little to consider the *time* for issuing them. The papers on Worship were all good—many of them were very profound and striking—and we hope to publish out of them a work on ‘Worship—Its Principles and Parts,’ which may supply a *felt want*. I wish you could have been with us. I am deeply interested, as always, in the Reunion Movement. There was a Meeting of Committee in Edinburgh last week. I could not get to it, but I was glad to hear that Dr. Scott, St. George’s, and Dr. Cameron Lees, St. Giles’, were the two Ministers of our Church who are to receive the names of those willing to sign the Statement to be addressed to the Scottish People. They are both men who know well how to gauge the state of public feeling. . . . There is a similar movement beginning in Ireland. It is sure to go on and will bring us great blessings in things spiritual as the Union of the Parliaments did in things temporal. My speech at the S.C.S. Breakfast is in the hands of the printers : the Report should be out in the course of a week or two.”

To Dr. Sprott : “ 22nd October, 1900 : ‘Worship in Spirit and in Truth’—you will remember the Society agreed on a work on this subject to be *made* out of our Conference papers. They appointed me Editor and gave me a small Committee to help me. We want you to undertake ‘The Lord’s Prayer’—a chapter of the proposed volume. I enclose a paper by — which may be of service to you, though we want your own original work. The *reason why* the Lord’s Prayer is used in the Service, as well as a statement of its historical position, is what we have in view. For the book is not to be a rival to your *Worship and Offices*, but a sort of Scottish *Freeman on the Principles of Divine Service*. The introductory chapter written expressly for us by — is in print, and I enclose a copy of it : but your chapter may run to twelve pages. ‘Dinna be brief.’ Now you must just undertake this. You can make a sermon of it in the first place.”

To the same : “ 13th November : The enclosed may interest and help you. The *Testamentum* confirms Bunsen’s view (which you cite in *Worship and Offices*) as to the extreme

antiquity of the Ethiopic Liturgy. This translation is from the Latin of Rahmani. For my book I am getting one direct from the Syriac.—Will you go on and edit (with improvements of your own and curtailments of superfluities in mine), my paper on 'The Benediction' for our new Volume? We must have your hand and Dr. Leishman's in it. What were the Scottish Church Society without you two?"

To the same: "17th November: Thanks for undertaking 'The Benediction.' I shall send you my papers next week. But perhaps we shall meet at the Law Society. It is your child. . . . Rosebery's speech yesterday in beautiful English and was well delivered. But his conception of the British Empire is of the earth earthy—not more than a commercial company with an army to defend it. In curious conjunction with his unfeigned acknowledgment of God's hand in raising up our Empire was his utter unconsciousness of God's having set any ideal of the kind of Empire to be reared before us, of religious (or even of moral) qualities as fitting for the work, and of our having to think of any nation besides ourselves, or to answer to God for our conduct. He clings to every rag of the old hard irreligious Whiggism."

Dr. Cooper was not a member of Assembly that year, but appeared in it with a report on the reprinting of the Church's Standards. Two of its incidents must have interested him—the initiation of an unhappy controversy as to the Church of Scotland's right of use in the Garrison Churches of India, which, as notice of it recurred in reports year after year, did much to reawaken ancient antagonism to Anglicanism and was a poor preparation for the appeal of Dr. Wilkinson's Conference on Home Reunion; and intimation of the Duke of Argyll's gift to the Church of the Cathedral church of Iona, with its dependent buildings. Cooper rejoiced in the Church's entering into possession of these, but was concerned by the doubt whether the Church would know how to occupy them worthily or with credit. The Duke in his Deed of gift and trust had expressed his hope of such a restoration of the venerable Cluniac Abbey Church (it became the Cathedral Church of the Isles only in the latter part of the fifteenth century), as has since been carried out. Cooper, I think, was more desirous of the reparation of the domestic buildings attached to it. He desired the restoration, not of its architectural, but of its spiritual glories, and especially that it should be the educational centre of the

Church's foreign Evangelism. He thought it a blunder to leave unutilised the potential appeal of the name and the tradition of that blessed Isle, and had dreams of a missionary foundation and training school for Missionaries within the Abbey precincts from which Columba had carried the Gospel to Pictland and Aidan to Northumbria. Or if that might not be, as he thought it should be, might there not be there a school of the Celtic learning and Gaelic language and literature to train a native clergy who should recover the Highlands to the Church? The appeal to sentiment, however, is not one of the instruments of the Church of Scotland, except for controversial purposes: Cooper would have said that we do not know its practical value—and his suggestion of such uses of the Duke's great gift fell on deaf ears; and indeed until the Church has completed the provision, so long overdue, which it has desired for its Theological Students at the University centres, it could hardly pursue these ideas of his, however attractive.

The same year saw the union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterian Church, but curiously enough, though he preached on it and published the sermon, there is no reference to that event in either his diary or in such letters of his of that time as are available. One may surmise that he did not regard a merely denominational coalescence as necessarily conducive to that wider *Pax Domini* which his heart desired.

The holidays of that year took him in May to Oxford as the guest of a friend, then a Fellow of New College and later a colleague in Glasgow University: thence on visits to Lambeth and to Wells—meeting at one or other the Bishops of London, Winchester and Ripon, as well as his host, Bishop Kennion. At Wells he saw the treasures of the Cathedral library, Laud's Prayer-book: Litany of Edward VI altered to suit days of Mary: Notice of Cromwell's soldiers—"hate Kings as much as bishops": was delighted with the devotional life of the Theological College and by a visit to Glastonbury.

"May 25th: Service in Bishop's Chapel. Talk with the Bishop of Ripon upon Scotland. His admiration of Dr. Matheson's 'Can the old Faith live with the New?' Prospects of Reunion. He has no objection to our Orders being recognised for Scotland (with provision for Episcopalians) and quite approves keeping our Courts. . . . The Bishop [of Bath and Wells] on Reunion: holds our Orders valid

but irregular. Gave me leave to copy Bishop Lightfoot's letter to him."¹

We need not suppose that in conversations like these or in correspondence on the same engrossing topic it was Dr. Cooper's habit to concede the position of the Church of Scotland, or to conciliate at the expense of principle. I find a letter of a somewhat earlier date which illustrates his attitude in such intercourse. It is a letter to a friend, in which he summarises a statement of his attitude which he had addressed to a Clergyman of the Church of England, then already influential and now in a position of dignity:—
 "27th September, 1894: I have spent the evening answering Mr. ——. I told him (a) that we must act as a body—(b)

¹ The letter referred to is copied into Cooper's Diary and seems to be of sufficient interest to be (by permission) reproduced:—

"BISHOP AUCKLAND,
 "July 14th, 1888.

"My dear Bishop of Adelaide,
 (other matter).

"I happen to have brought with me the IVth Volume of Cosin's Works (Anglo-Catholic Library) in which there is some interesting information about the opinion of Cosin and some other High Churchmen of his day regarding 'Presbyterian Ordination,' to which he allowed a certain validity, though he regarded it as irregular, and about re-ordination of such.

"On p. 449, note 9, it is stated that 'In Ireland Archbishop Bramhall and the Bishops ordained such persons under hypothetical form.'

"The investigation of the reference in the notes might lead to some results.

"Overall, Cosin and the High Churchmen of that day speak of Presbyterian Ordination and of the Presbyterian Churches abroad with a liberality which would, I think, be surprising to those who have not investigated the subject.

"Yours very Sincerely,

"J. B. DUNELM.

"P.S. I see no greater objection to hypothetical ordination than to hypothetical baptism: but whether there is any precedent in the Early Church or not I cannot say. I have no book here to refer to."

The diary continues:—"The passage of Cosin referred to is in a letter to Mr. Gunning. Cosin says 'Whether in such a case, if you were a bishop, you would ordain the presbyter again, or no: which *was never yet done* in the Church of England, but in Mr. Dury's *case alone*, and that upon his own earnest (desire) and pretence of conscience, though, all the world saw, he looked another way:—'Whether the Church of England hath ever determined the French and German ordination by Presbyters or Superintendents to be null and vain, and hath not rather admitted them, and employed them at several times in public administration of the Sacraments and other Divine offices among us, etc.'

"N.B. The notes certainly *need* investigation, particularly that about the Scotch prelates.

ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1662

'provided that the penalties in this Act shall not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches, allowed or to be allowed by the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors in England.'

(From Bishop Creighton's Prayer Book at Wells.)"

that the Episcopalians must bear in mind that *we* claim to be *the Church of Scotland*, and that if we rejected bishops we neither went against the prevalent theology of the Schoolmen nor our understanding of Scripture—(c) that the Scotch bishops failed the Church on three occasions—1560, 1637, and 1690—and had not since that date been always living demonstrations of our folly in ‘not knowing our pastors’: that we too had much to repent of, and that the Schism being the result of sin, union could only be prepared for by repentance—fasting, not picnics! I bade him study 1610. I told him of the singular spread among us of the desire for union with England and the genuine growth of Catholic feeling. I applauded his purposed protest and expression of respect for the National Church, and said that the Episcopal Church must tell us what she is ready to concede.”

For vacation duty that summer, Cooper had charge of St. Bride’s in June and of St. Margaret’s, Broughty Ferry, in July. August and September found him at Wilton, whose Minister was with the troops in South Africa. His diary remarks on the beauty of one Manse in the neighbourhood—“like a Tuscan Villa,” and on an old Churchyard of another parish—“Two boards forbidding entrance. ‘No person allowed to enter here except by permission.’” Let us hope that by now these have disappeared. And there is mention of the pre-Reformation Church of Southdean—“Miserable condition of the ruins. Traces of a very fine Church. Charming situation. Beauty of the Jed at Southdean.” Since then that ancient church, the trysting place of the Scottish barons “about the Candlemas time” of 1333, before the raid which ended victoriously at Otterburn, has been cleared from the mound of rubbish which almost concealed it, and Divine Service is held by the Parish Minister each year within its broken walls on the Sunday after Candlemas—an example greatly to be commended.

As the Spring of the following year advances we hear of Committee meetings to prepare for the Deputations on Unity—“how the work goes on! It is of God, and we can only adore and wonder.” In due course the Deputations appeared before the Episcopal Synod with their “Statement” and their request that a Day of Intercession for Unity might be appointed; and next before the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and of the United Free Church. “May 23rd: Deputation on Unity goes to

Assembly, 1-30, deferred to 3. Glorious address of Bishop Wilkinson. Speeches of Dr. Whyte and Dr. J. Smith. Dr. Story's opposition—its defeat. Glory be to Thee, O God." All three Courts were cordial and the 13th October was consentaneously appointed for Intercession. "May 25th: U.F. Moderator's Breakfast: I speak—'Unity should lead to Union.' Assembly—Report of Sabbath School Committee,—Lessons on Church and Sacraments—defeated in spite of splendid speech by Principal Lang. Assembly very impatient of *any* doctrine of the Church. Lord Balfour, Prof. —, voted right. I defeated proposal to consider Shortening of Divinity Course."

Holidays of 1901 were spent in charge of St. Columba's, Newtonmore in Badenoch, and of Garelochhead. As to his services in the former of these a tale is told of a good lady, of a type not rare in at least parts of Scotland, who said, "Dr. Cooper is officiating at Newtonmore—have you heard what he is doing there? He is teaching those poor innocent Highland people to say the Lord's Prayer." No disturbance, however, seems to have followed this startling innovation. He did not find much of ecclesiological interest in that charming neighbourhood. "August 19th: Walk to Alvie (St. Drostan's). . . . The Church terribly 'restored' with demolition even of the Duke of Gordon's seat." "August 21st: To Insh. St. Eunan's Church, bell and font, the bell a magnificent piece of bronze worthy of so great a Prelate as St. Adamnan." "August 27th: To Kingussie. . . . St. Columba's Churchyard. The 'great cave'—Pictish *erd-house* of Raits. Ossian Macpherson's monument, Dun-nachten Chapel: tomb (1780)." In September he went to Winchester for the Millenary Celebrations of Alfred the Great, and in October to Aberdeen for the Church Congress there, at which he read the leading paper at a diet devoted to the subject of Unity. In this, which had the greater emphasis from the fact that the Day of Intercession was fixed for the following Sunday, he, as always, insisted on the importance of the inclusion of Scottish Episcopalianism in any scheme that might be proposed. "A merely Presbyterian union would not unite the Scottish people." "You can no more leave out the Scottish Episcopalians than you can leave out the United Free Church." "Scotland for good or ill, (and surely for good) is one with England in the responsibilities of the greatest Empire the world ever saw; and these responsibilities include as their very centre the duty

of building up the Church of the Redeemer to bear His truth and to do His work throughout and beyond the whole vast extent of that huge Empire." He "did not mean, however, that Scotland should not settle her Church question for herself, but that she should deal with it in the light of her Imperial connexion." There must be sacrifices all round—sacrifices of prejudice, of preferences, of long-accustomed ways—of everything except Bible truth, which is not ours to sacrifice. With a prescience which was to be painfully justified, he put in a *caveat* against the demand for prelibation of the fruits of intercommunion before its terms should be adjusted or communion itself effected. "I do not attach much importance to the mere exchange of pulpits. This has gone on in some quarters for years and has not brought us a bit nearer. It may have value as a means of promoting personal friendship, which of course is something: but it is too light a healing of our divisions, and is more likely, I fear, to confound principles than to reconcile conscientious differences. It need not surprise us therefore if many do not see their way to sanction it, who are most earnest in seeking a real reunion and ready to make *for that* very considerable sacrifices." He spoke too in a discussion on Sunday Observance and told the Congress that Dr. Milligan had said to him the last time he met him that "the greatest thing which the Church of Scotland had to do was to restore the weekly Eucharist," and that withholding that opportunity from the flock "was putting a tradition of men in place of the Word of God."

Meantime he had begun to occupy himself with preparation, as Secretary of the Church Society, for its Fifth Conference, which was to be held in 1902 at Perth, and he had put in hand his edition of what is popularly known as *Laud's Liturgy*, (the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637) with introduction, collations and notes, for the Church Service Society's series of Liturgies and Orders of Divine Service in Scotland since the Reformation. This is his most important literary work. The collations are full and careful. The notes are elaborate and indicate laborious research and minute knowledge. They are a mine of information upon an incident of the utmost historical significance. The whole is scholarly and thorough and of much authority and value: and it remains the standard upon its subject. Its tendency is to recall attention to the intrinsic merits of this Prayer-book, which have been obscured by the prejudice

inevitably excited by the method of its imposition upon the Church.

To Dr. Sprott : " 22nd March, 1901 : We had a sufficient meeting yesterday, and were quite unanimous in our conclusions. First of all we were unanimous in re-electing you to be President of the Society. We did this on the suggestion of Dr. Marshall and out of the deepest feeling which we all cherish of respect for yourself and of gratitude for your great services to the cause of truth, unity and order in Scotland. We know that we are imposing upon you the labour of preparing another Presidential Address, but we trust you will not shrink from that, and we beg unitedly to assure you that there is no one whom we could hear more gladly. May I venture to add that a feeling was expressed—or a wish—that your subject will be a review of the history of the Church of Scotland in the nineteenth century, with comparison of her condition then and in the preceding centuries, eighteenth and seventeenth. Several who were not present at the meeting wrote suggesting your appointment. So that it is indeed a unanimous *call*. . . . The Committee of the Conference on Unity met at 2-15—agreed to print all the names (2,250) who have concurred, and approach the Assemblies by petition and deputation. So a most momentous step has been taken, and we may again acknowledge with thankful wonder the hand of God upon us. It will be easier to unite the three bodies than it would have been to unite any two of them ; and of course ever so much better. *You* have done much for this."

To the same : " 5th April, 1901 : Your declinature of the Presidentship was received with much regret. As it was clearly final I took it upon me to write to Marshall and had an answer from him *declining for this year*, as he is likely to be sent by the Assembly to Australia ; but he will accept it another time. We want to pay special honour to our two beloved and venerated fathers. Seeing you decline, we have resolved to ask Dr. Leishman. The new century and the Unity Movement call for a man of mark and standing. I hope Dr. Leishman will accept ; but failing him we resolved to nominate Mr. Johnstone, Fraserburgh, who is Dr. —'s senior. He is a splendid man ; still we would rather have Dr. Leishman. We are all agreed also in wishing you to be the John Macleod Lecturer for the next year."

To the same : " 17th May, 1901 : The list of signatories to the Union Conference has been printed and is to be issued

to all members of both Committees. I am amused at the wrath of the *Christian Leader* and the scoffs of the *Glasgow Herald*; but I am ashamed, as well as amused, at the 'sitting-on-the-fence' attitude of *Saint Andrew*.

The Unity Conference met again in April, 1902, "to discuss proposals for a Conference," presumably an open conference in which concrete steps might be considered, or possibly conference of the Churches concerned. Dr. Wilkinson was absent, owing to a fall from his horse. He had deprecated any public meeting or overt step until the Day of Intercession should have been observed; publicity and action were now evidently requisite, but the form of action to be adopted was not obvious. The April Conference could only "agree to meet again." Cooper has no note on the subject until October 23rd.—"Meeting of Unity Committee. Bishop of St. Andrews after some hesitation accepts Convenership of Sub-Committee on Practical Suggestions." If the movement, which had so far proceeded leisurely enough, had been allowed to rest until this Sub-Committee had prepared recommendations, it seems conceivable that the results so far obtained—which, if less conclusive than Cooper's sanguine mind inclined to suppose, were yet remarkable and pregnant with possibility for good—might easily have been conserved and might have been the starting point of fruitful negotiation. Unfortunately for the movement the proceedings of the Sub-Committee were anticipated by action on the part of a Committee of Perth Ministers who thought it expedient at this point to invite Dr. Wilkinson to take part in a united service or meeting for prayer for the intention of the Conference, to be held in St. John's (East) Parish Church, Perth. An account of the incident is given with some detail in Dr. Wilkinson's biography,¹ and it is unnecessary to repeat the story here. Dr. Wilkinson on his part thought it his duty to decline the invitation for himself and for his clergy. As result there were resignations from the Conference and Dr. Wilkinson himself, Dr. Mason says, "felt that he could no longer usefully remain upon the Committee": the movement, in its existing form at least, collapsed. Such a conclusion to such a movement may be thought lamentable. At this time of day there is little to be gained by attempt to allocate the responsibility for "the Perth incident." Under the

¹ *Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson*, by Arthur James Mason, D.D., Longmans, Green & Co., 1909. Vol. II, pp. 391 ff.

circumstances the invitation had something of the air of challenge. Dr. Wilkinson was, I think, known to be of opinion that acts of intercommunion ought to be postponed to the attainment of intercommunion, or at least to the ascertainment of its conditions. On the other hand, the Lambeth Conference from whose "proposals" the movement had taken origin had expressly charged Bishops "to watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different Christian bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked in this matter." The Perth invitation might conceivably have been construed as such an opportunity, had Dr. Wilkinson been watching alertly for such. It is difficult to understand his action, unless indeed he took the Lambeth "Resolution 40" to mean that Bishops should encourage and counsel non-Episcopalians to united prayer, themselves and their flocks remaining apart. There may be ambiguity¹ in the phrasing of the Resolution, but Lambeth can hardly have meant anything so unpromising of harmony, and after all the term "Christian bodies" must be held to include Episcopalians. I remember at the time one did not know with whom to be the more bitterly disappointed. It seemed hard that the interests of the Kingdom of God should be made dependent on the question whether a particular meeting should be held in a church or in a hall. However that might be, the Conference and its Committee shortly after ceased to exist, and their place was taken by a "Christian Unity Association of Scotland," which has since then continued to prosecute an unambitious programme. It is all an old story now, and so much has happened since that no moral need be drawn from it, were it not for the awkward and apparently persistent habit of history to repeat itself. If Lambeth of 1897 exercised (which does not seem certain) an undue caution, Lambeth of 1920 has amply redeemed the error.

It is characteristic of Cooper that his diaries contain no allusion to these incidents or to their effect in terminating a development on which he had set high hope. He did not

¹ The Lambeth Conference of 1903 re-phrased the Resolution (now No. 78), this time unambiguously: "The constituted authorities of the various Churches of the Anglican Communion should, as opportunity offers, arrange conferences with representatives of other Christian Churches, and meetings for common acknowledgment of the sins of division and of intercession for the growth of Unity."

See *Report of Lambeth Conference, 1920*, p. 136.

count failures.—I think because he did not recognise failures. Men can do nothing against the truth, though they may delay its prevalence; and this truth of the Unity of the Spirit and of our duty to preserve or to restore it in the bond of peace was, as he believed, bound sooner or later to prevail. Each deferring of the hope was only a call for new effort in the search for paths in which men may dwell. His exceedingly—one might almost say, excessively—sanguine temperament, to which the future always seemed certain in promise, sometimes misled him; but it was also his strength. Or perhaps in this case the disappointment was too painful and he shrank from mention of it. He must have had correspondence on the subject, but no letters which touch it are before me. He has, however, here and there a hopeful reference to the new organisation which preserves some continuity with Dr. Wilkinson's abortive movement—and that hurrying on to the next available hope is also characteristic.

“ July 8th, 1903: Sub-Committee on Unity (Roxburghe Hotel). Bishop Dowden, Canon Ellis, Professor MacEwen, and I. Revised draft Statement for Conference. Professor MacEwen submitted draft Constitution of new Association for Unity.” The new Association came into being in the course of the following Autumn, and Cooper gave it an undiscouraged support.

CHAPTER X

LETTERS AND DIARIES

DR. Cooper was returned to the General Assembly of 1902 by the Presbytery of Turriff. It was on the whole an uneventful Assembly, but the quietest Assembly has much business to transact, and Dr. Cooper took his share in that with a shrewdness which gained him attention. Its chief interest for him was the "case" in which his intimate friend and former Assistant, Mr. T. N. Adamson, had become involved. In his Services at St. Margaret's, Broughty Ferry, (a Chapel of Ease to Monifieth Parish) Mr. Adamson had certainly exceeded the standard of ornament (in the technical sense of the word) and of ritual, which on any reckoning was known or practised in the Church of Scotland. The matter came before the Assembly, not in its judicial but in its administrative capacity, as in care of the peace and well-being of the Church. It did not come before the Court by way of libel (or accusation), but by petition, which, if successful, would result, not, after trial, in a sentence, but in a direction of the Assembly to the person complained of. The various capacities in which the Assembly may act are somewhat confusing and are constantly confounded. Administrative direction or executive order of the kind sought in this case does not affect the law of the Church; that can be done only by Overture and consent of Presbyteries, and not by any single Assembly. Such direction may in a given case forbid as inexpedient what is quite lawful, or may order what law does not require. It expresses only the practical decision of that Assembly in the circumstances submitted to it. What is lawful in one Parish may thus be prohibited in another—not because contrary to any Act, but because it contravenes the order of the Assembly speaking in its supreme pastoral duty; or an order may be directed to one person only and would

bind no other. In this there may be a parallel to the Interdict of a Civil Court. In the Barnhill case the petitioner, who appeared as common informer, was the Rev. Jacob Primmer, who discharged for the Church of Scotland the part played in England by Mr. Kensit, with equal vigilance but with perhaps less scrupulous temperance of language. He had shortly before excelled himself by criticism of Dr. Story in the matter of a piece of complimentary Latinity addressed to the Pope on the occasion of the Ninth Jubilee of Glasgow University—the University having been founded by Papal bull 450 years before. There was some doubt of the competence of Mr. Primmer's petition and of the propriety of the petitioner, but the Assembly is tender of the right of access by petition and possibly was cautious of seeming to suppress ritual complaint—objections were waived; the Assembly in its supremacy can always deal directly with matters disclosed *apud acta*—and there was high debate as to the course to be followed. Mr. Adamson's friends were in a dilemma. It was hopeless to plead for such liberty as he had assumed. The choice was between the more severe and the less severe of two motions, neither of which was lenient—the one instructing the Presbytery of Dundee to visit St. Margaret's and to take order with proceedings there—the other affirming a finding of the Synod which directed the cessation of such practices as seemed most extreme; with the anomalous result that Dr. Sprott was found supporting the former motion and Dr. Cooper seconding the latter. The second motion was carried. I am under the impression that Cooper's reason for withholding himself from more active intervention in these and later proceedings was one of consideration for Adamson. Had he made himself prominent in them, the Assembly might easily have formed the impression—a mistaken impression—that Adamson represented a concerted movement, and in that case would have inclined to still sharper dealings with him.

Cooper had come in for at least his full share in Mr. Primmer's animadversions and felt them to be somewhat more than an annoyance. In a letter of the period he says: "I am prosecuting Jacob Primmer, of course with legal advice: and hope to put a stop to his campaign of defamation. It is high time. He has really done me harm in

¹ E.g., the lawfulness of an organ in a Parish Church is by the Act 1868, xli (*Reports* 1871. 12) apparently dependent on its acceptability to the Parishioners.

Glasgow." The "prosecution" which he contemplated was by bringing the matter to the notice of Church Courts—he had no thought of relieving these Courts of their disciplinary duty by having recourse to a civil process—"the Church itself should defend the reputation of its Ministers"—and he was not alone in thinking that excessive licence had in this case been allowed.

In June, 1902, the Church Society held in Perth its Fifth Conference. The principal subject treated was of the Church's specific endowment of the Holy Spirit and of the operation of the Holy Spirit in its life and ordinances. A selection of the papers read was published under the title of *The Pentecostal Gift*. Dr. Cooper's contribution comprised sections on the *Relation of our Lord to the Instituted Ministries*, on *Ordination as in the Primitive Church*, and on *Hindrances to the present operation of the Spirit in the Church, a call to Revived Penitence, Faith and Prayer*. For most of June he was at Barnhill, and carried on the duty there in accordance with the Assembly's Deliverance. His diary of that summer is full of references to the impending Coronation of King Edward VII (he was to have been at Crathie to preach at the Service to be held there simultaneously with the great event at Westminster): then to the King's illness, the services of intercession and ultimately of thanksgiving. He was indignant that public intercession was not more universal. From Broughty Ferry he visited St. Andrews and rejoiced in the "beautiful plans for restoring the Parish Church, by Mr. MacGregor Chalmers," which were presently to be carried out with so great success.

The 15th of August has always an entry, lovingly commemorating his Mother's birthday, exalting her virtues, rejoicing in her vigour. This year it is emphatic: "*Mother's Birthday*. She is 90, and (*Laus Deo*) in perfect health. Dr. Sprott conducted a special thanksgiving Service, reading my Father's favourite Psalm (cvii): in the evening he proposed Mother's health, saying she was rather to be described as advanced in years than old, for he never knew one so old who was so young in mind. . . . She played and won a rubber. Many calls and pretty presents."

His going to Jedburgh for September was delayed by one of his repeated but unsuccessful protests in Presbytery against the practice of holding ordination services on a Sunday evening—a practice which seemed to him to conflict both with the requirement of fasting imposed by the

Directory, and with the duty of the clergy to be occupied with Evening Service in their own Churches. About this time he refers once or twice to "a proposal for a new Church periodical" and one of his notes on the subject recalls to memory a meeting of five or six friends to consider possibilities in the matter. There was no question of the need. It may seem incredible, but it is true, that for the Church of Scotland there is no organ of unofficial opinion, no journalistic forum for discussion or for criticism of incident or of policy, for theological statement or religious appeal. So far as the press is concerned we live in silence. There was no question of the need, and there was modest confidence of competence to attempt (at least) in some measure to meet it, so far as a Quarterly on the smaller scale might be effective. But the usual question of finance stood in the way. We were a small group of poor men, and guarantees were required for which there was no guarantor. What was aimed at was something distinctively Scottish in interest, and what is distinctively Scottish in interest must look to Scotland for its reading public—and that is small enough. If we attempted such a periodical we must do it at our own risk—and it was not attempted. Events moved on in silence and policies were developed uncriticised, or at best without that adequate and considered discussion which is wholesome—for which occasional letters to the daily press are scarcely a substitute.

To Dr. Sprott: "7th February, 1902: I wish I could get on faster with *Laud*. But Lent is near and I shall have far fewer interruptions. I am pretty well on with the Introduction and have notes in store. . . . Dr. Hastie is violently opposing a Residence [for Students of Divinity] here: Dr. Robertson, who was for it, is now frightened to go on: Dr. Stewart is hostile, and the Principal is opposed to aught that seems a rival to his big scheme for University extension. But the movement has good friends and will go on yet."

Dr. Cooper had been much interested by the Bishop of Salisbury's Murtle Lecture in Aberdeen, (February 22nd, 1902), and writes of it: "No more important utterance on the subject of Reunion has been made and no one could expect an English Bishop to go further—none hitherto has gone so far. I wish the *Free Press* had given the Bishop's Five Fundamentals. But probably the whole speech will be published. It certainly ought to be."

To M. W. : " February 28th, 1902 : Last night a fine new Free Church was opened here—I went, partly to see the Church which has been designed by —, a London architect and friend of mine, and partly to hear Dr. Whyte, who gave us an impressive sermon, very quaint in form. The Service was wretched, but the opening prayer was in terms one of ' Consecration and dedication ' of the fabric. It is pleasant to find such a survival of Church principles in the Free Church."

To Mr. Campbell of Eastwood : " 26th March, 1902 : Holy Week Services are spreading. I shall have preached this week in six different Churches in this neighbourhood, and I was occupied on the days I was asked for Govan. At Forres, Fraserburgh, Aberdeen and Brechin the like Services were held, and I have no doubt in many other places."

To the Right Rev. John Wordsworth, D.D.¹ : " 20th June, 1902 : I venture to send to you the Annual Report of the Scottish Church Society and the programme of a Conference we have just concluded at Perth. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, the Very Rev. Provost Campbell, Canon Farquhar and the Dean were at one or more of our meetings, and I think another step was taken in the direction of Reunion. The prints, if you have time to look at them, will shew you how the land lies with us, and I believe we are much more widely representative of the Church of Scotland than our numbers might suggest. I do hope that the danger of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill is over for the year and that the Education Bill will pass uninjured, if not improved. The prayers of the Nation, or of the serious part of it, will be with you and with their Majesties on Thursday week. This indisposition of the King, slight as it is, should dispose us all to solemn thoughts of our hourly dependence on a Higher Power."

To M. W. : " 26th June, 1902 : How very quickly our national joy has been turned into heaviness ! I agree with you that there was more need than ever for going to Church to-day ; I fear that the non-holding of services in some Churches is due to a real disbelief in prayer. We used a good deal of the Service for the Visitation of the Sick, Psalms lxxi and xxiii, Isaiah xxxviii, Hymn 309, the Creed, and after sermon said Psalm li, verse about, kneeling. It was most solemn and appropriate.—The Conference at Perth was very en-

¹ Bishop of Salisbury, 1885-1911.

joyable, and even the *Irish Times* admits the high level which many of the papers reached. The prayers for the King at Stormontfield were very impressive—every other topic is driven out of our minds by the national anxiety.”

To the same: “16th November, 1902: Last night I went to see an old ‘Morality’ Play of the time of Edward IV. It was like an acted *Pilgrim’s Progress*, and if it made more of Repentance and Good Works than its Puritan rival, it was perhaps none the less Scriptural on that account. It was really very beautiful and affecting as well as interesting, both from an artistic and historical point of view. Its arrangement supplied a living illustration of Raphael’s enthroned Madonnas. If ‘Everyman’ goes to Aberdeen, be sure you go to see it. The Bishop of Salisbury writes me most kindly about my new book, ‘worthy of your University and the Scottish reputation for thoroughness.’”

To the same: “13th December, 1902: There can be no doubt that there is a combination—I had almost said, a conspiracy—just now to boycott the whole High Church party, and we are all made to feel it on every possible occasion. . . . I am glad to hear of the proposed Summer Theological Lectures at Aberdeen; though, for the above reason, I do not think it in the least likely that I shall be asked to co-operate. . . . But I need not go on pouring out the vials of my bitterness. To Christmas I am looking forward with much pleasure. On Christmas Eve I am to have a Service with the children at our Normal School; on Christmas Day I celebrate (with my Aberdeen Chalice) at St. Bride’s.—And I have (at dinner) those Highland Students—mostly from the Western Isles—who are too far from their homes to return for the holidays.”

“May 16th, 1903: To Dalmeny, where, by Lord Rosebery’s kind permission, I collated the Prayer Book he bought at the Hamilton Sale. It came from England to Hamilton in 1856, was printed 1637; it is an English prayer book with all the *changes sent from England* for the Scotch Liturgy, written into it by Charles I with his own hand. The *Order* for the Communion Service seems to have been Bishop Wedderburn’s, and though implied is not directed by the King. Probably this was the copy sent to Spottiswood.”

Though not a member of the Assembly of 1903, Cooper was indirectly active in certain parts of its business—as to Iona and as to Religious Education in Schools. His diary says:—

"22nd May: Wrote to Mr. Traquair Dickson, urging him to move a remit to Highland Committee to consider how best to *use* the Cathedral of Iona, when restored."

"May 28th: Mr. Traquair Dickson carried his motion that the Assembly remit to Highlands and Islands Committee to confer with Iona Trustees as to a scheme whereby the buildings at Iona might be made a centre of spiritual influence in the Church. Professor Paterson seconded."

Considerable anxiety existed as to the provision for religious Education both in the primary and secondary schools of the country. In the latter, especially, an appreciable proportion of the pupils were Episcopalian, and no common standard of Catechetic teaching existed which could be used for them along with Presbyterians. The Westminster Shorter Catechism, it was found, was losing its place in common use. In March there had appeared an "Appeal" to the Scottish Churches "by a Presbyter of the Scottish Episcopal Church," to which Cooper contributed an introductory note, urging conference of all the Churches with a view to the preparation of a Common Catechism and the formation of a joint board of religious studies, and suggesting that the Divinity Faculties of the Universities should provide courses of instruction for such as might become teachers in Higher or Secondary Schools. In the interval before the Assembly, Cooper had busied himself in promoting overtures on the subject for the Synods, and had found ready support.

"14th April: *Synod of Glasgow and Ayr*. Carried my Overture on Religious Instruction in Public Schools."

"3rd July: Committee on Religious Instruction in Public Schools. Very Rev. Dr. N. Macleod, Convener. Statesmanlike speech. Dr. Mair moves that we invite co-operation of the other Reformed Churches. Agreed to. On Committee to do this."

Delegates were appointed by the United Free Church as well, by the Scottish Episcopal Church, by the Congregational Union, and by the Wesleyan Methodists. The Conference acting as a Committee, addressed itself in the first place to the preparation of a Catechism. Cooper's diary gives frequent evidence of his interest in the process. It was completed and published in 1907. It is referred to in the Church of Scotland's *Year Book* for 1908 with moderate commendation; its language is said to be "beautifully simple, and most of the doctrines of our common faith are

plainly set forth. The difficulties as to the doctrine of the Sacraments seem to have been insuperable, for they have been evaded rather than solved." This description of the Catechism may probably suffice to explain its failure to pass into wider use, or entirely to secure the object with which it had been compiled. One's impression of it is that, if inadequate, it was good as far as it went, and that it might have served to lay some common foundation on which the several Communions might superimpose the fuller statements of their own manuals. But the reception given to the production did not encourage the Joint Committee to prosecute the other items of its programme. Another of Cooper's efforts towards unity—for he had certainly hoped that the co-operation which he had obtained would make for unity—had failed.

A farther disappointment awaited him in the matter of a Pastoral Institute in connection with the Glasgow Divinity Hall. The Church had approved the scheme for such Institutes and had appointed a permanent Board to carry it out: the scheme and the Board had survived the general wreckage of the recommendations of the Reform Committee, of which they had formed part. The Board might have set up the Institutes and have hoped in due time to equip them with Residences; or it might seek to provide Residences and hope that in due time these might come to be used as centres for Institutes. At Glasgow the latter of these courses was followed, and with much effort and some sacrifice a very energetic local Committee acquired the necessary property, and has since then supervised its affairs as a Hostel, chiefly for Students of Theology.¹ Dr. Cooper had hoped for more than a Hostel.

"18th March, 1903: Committee announce to Students that the new *Residence* will be opened in October. — had objected to the Residence, if a man was to be head of it, for fear of 'ecclesiastical bias'; but if its aims were only 'Social and economical,' he would approve."

The Residence was formally opened on October 13th, Cooper declining to be present—among other reasons because "I think it should have been opened with Divine Service by a Minister."

To Dr. Sprott: "9th April, 1903: That pamphlet seems

¹ This Committee, to which the Church owes gratitude, has now handed its Residence over to the revived Board, and the long designed Institute has been set up.

to take well. I have cordial appreciations of it from Drs. Gray (Liberton), Donald Macleod, and Mair, from Williams, the Principal of our Training College here, from Dean Rorison, and the Bishop of Salisbury. I advise them all to write to Dr. Scott. It should be a 'Government Measure' in the Assembly. Meanwhile ought we not to overture in all the Synods: I have tabled one for Glasgow and Ayr, of which I enclose a draft: have asked men to bring forward one on similar lines in Merse, Angus, Aberdeen and Argyle. Will you do it in Lothian and Tweeddale? My draft might easily be improved on. The Education Committee will not be unwilling to co-operate now, and whereas they used to say that their work was only with the Training Colleges, they have now discovered that their commission reaches to 'the furtherance of Religious Instruction throughout Scotland.' The higher class teachers henceforth will hardly go to the Training Colleges at all, and the Church might surely look to the Theological Faculties to give training in Religious Knowledge to teachers who do not pass through the Normal.

"There are seven Churches in Glasgow giving Holy Week courses, and they are getting large congregations. Oatlands was full downstairs when I preached there on Tuesday night. Barnhill well attended last night."

To the same: "18th April, 1903: We have shamefully neglected the subject [of Religious Education] in the Secondary Schools, and if we miss this opportunity we may not have another. I am much struck with the good attendances of working folks at the Holy Week Services."

Dr. Cooper was much interested by the King's first visit to Scotland after his coronation, and attended the levée at Holyrood.

To M. W.: "15th May, 1903: We have had grand doings, as you have read. Both at Holyrood and here the proceedings were marked by a quiet dignity which deeply impressed me. There was speed, but there was no appearance of hurry. I thought the King looked old and bored at Holyrood—where, on the throne, he was extraordinarily like his Mother: but at Glasgow he was fresh and bright: the perfect and courteous gentleman, and the Queen wonderfully lovely, though thin and as if suffering from cold. . . . Mother has not suffered from fatigue, and seems to have got a very special bow from Their Majesties. She was greatly taken up about it."

To the same: "Trossachs Manse, 28th July, 1903: We

are sorry that you cannot come to see us here : words cannot describe the beauty of the district, even when it rains, as it generally does. . . . On Sunday I was rowed up Loch Katrine to baptize a child at the solitary house (a shepherd's cottage) on the South side of the Loch, and then across it to a farmhouse five miles up the Northern bank : where we had evening service and a congregation of nineteen. It was a lovely day here, and the ' Arrochar Alps ' which you saw from Garelochhead were in all their glory. The Loch was blue like the sea.

" I am much interested in the question of a second Service in every Parish every Sunday. The question was discussed in the Assembly and will be before all Presbyteries in the course of the winter. My experience here is that it is quite possible and very much appreciated."

The question of a second Service on Sundays as normally requisite in every Parish was before the previous Assembly and again before that of 1904, and Dr. Cooper in supporting its enactment instanced his Trossachs experience, saying that there the morning congregations were largely of visitors and tourists, but that in the evenings, by service held in some other part of the Parish, he had found that the native population were reached. By a narrow majority, however, his Motion was defeated.

To the same : " 5th January, 1904 : I am going to Edinburgh to preach in St. Oswald's and West Coates. Next week I shall have to be there twice for the ' all-denominational Conference on Christian Instruction in Public Schools ' on the Wednesday, and on Thursday for the formation of a Scottish Association for the promotion of Christian Unity. We are getting on in spite of much evil. Classes resumed to-day : I am glad to say I feel quite able again for the work, as well as happy in it. I am very fond of my present set of Students."

To the same : " 20th October, 1904 : My edition of *Laud's Liturgy* is out. I have very flattering letters about it from Bishop Dowden, the Dean of St. Patrick's, and Professor Hume Brown, the historian : he calls it my ' delightful book.' I have been as fair as I could, but on that account I shall be abused by all who think it our duty to humour the prejudices of the people."

To the same : " 4th December, 1904 : The ' horrible proposal ' I spoke of as having been made in the — Session was the introduction of ' separate cups.' All that is needed

is that, as with us, the Chalice should be wiped at the end of each pew, and all *invalids* communicated at home. But there is neither Scripture nor reason for communicating people in such crowds on a single day. The right course is to develop early celebrations. A great many of our Scottish customs are mere remains of barbarism, with nothing except habit to recommend them. How can people be 'discerning the LORD's Body' and be so much afraid of germs? "

Dr. Cooper's somewhat reserved attitude of mind towards the union of the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church in 1900 has been already referred to. Meantime, however, the minority of the Free Church, which did not enter the union, had had recourse to the Civil Courts: and the matter had gone by Appeal to the House of Lords, and was decided in favour of the remanent Free Churchmen. Cooper's diary has only the brief entry: "August 1st: Decision in the great lawsuit between the Free Church and United Free Churches." He, however, like other people, was now compelled to be interested in the extraordinary position created, and he was quick to see that extensive reactions upon the whole ecclesiastical life of Scotland were involved. He had not sympathised with the attitude of the United Free Church to the minority which remained under the old Free Church banner, and regarded with anxiety what seemed to him their excessive emphasis on "liberty" in some of its applications. "They are speaking very wildly just now," he writes to a friend on July 19th. The catastrophe which had overtaken them seemed to him to be the historical retribution of extreme and arbitrary courses followed in working out the Revolution Settlement by that party in the Church which it was the boast of the Free Church lineally to represent. A wrong, in his view, had at that time been done, a policy deliberately designed to exclude Episcopalians from the National Church had been pursued. The evidence of it remained in the stringency of the Formula of 1693 and the still greater stringency of the Formula of 1711, abandoned by the Church of Scotland in 1889. The inference, as he saw it, was that an opportunity for the redress of that ancient wrong had at last occurred. The Revolution Settlement ought to be re-examined and re-opened. The plea which Episcopalians had vainly urged in 1692 and onwards, for consideration as being, along with Presbyterians, heirs of the Reformation and a constituent element in the National Church, ought to be renewed; and

Parliament—which evidently must in the circumstances intervene—should give effect to the plea in any measure adopted. These ideas took form in a “Statement” which was drafted in conjunction with Dr. Sprott. The idea at first was that it should appear as a manifesto, more or less official, from the Church Society; but that idea was departed from. The Church Society was doctrinal in character and had never intervened in Church politics. I was at the time laid up in the North of Scotland by the results of an accident and was out of touch with affairs, but I remember that I saw the draft and thought it, however excellent and germane to the position, outwith the Society’s scope of action. I am not sure that I was right—the Lords’ decision was to have, in modern phrase, important doctrinal repercussions. Had Scottish Episcopacy intervened at that crisis, as the Church of Scotland did, with a claim to be included in any re-settlement, something more fruitful of good for Scotland as a whole than Clause V of the Bill soon after introduced, might have resulted. The “Statement” was eventually submitted through the Church Law Society, and may be found among its publications.¹ Cooper says of it in his diary: “It might be said to have been dictated by Dr. Sprott, so much of it did he do.” A year later (July 29th, 1905) there is again an entry which refers to this paper.—“Leading Article in *Scotsman* acknowledging Dr. Sprott’s and my paper in Church Law Society Report as the first forecast of Clause V in Churches’ (Scotland) Bill. . . . A large part of it was dictated as it stands by Dr. Sprott.”

To Dr. Sprott: “3rd September, 1904: How very sad the conduct of the U.F. leaders! They are doing enormous injury to religion in Scotland: I had hoped they would have borne the stroke with meekness and bravery. But they have always praised the violent in our past history and seem bent on bettering that example. I hoped we might have addressed them, but plainly the time for speech is not yet. They are too sore, and too proud. I have not seen one word of penitence or confession even of mistake.”

To the same: “23rd September: I saw Bishop Campbell to-day: he took the hint at once as to the Scottish Bishops asking to be heard, if Presbyterians reopen the Revolution Settlement. I have some reason to think that Lord Balfour is with us: of which more anon.”

¹ *The Church of Scotland and the Judgment in the Free Church case*: a paper read before the Church Law Society on the 17th of November, 1904. By the Rev. G. W. Sprott, D.D.; Hitt, Edinburgh.

Dr. Cooper had secured joint action by the Churches in the matter of Religious Education in Schools—the new Catechism had been drafted and was being revised. The want of consistent policy in the matter, however, appeared in another department of the same subject.

To M. W. : “ 15th November, 1904 : This is the week of the Committees and on three of the days at any rate I must go to Edinburgh. I was there to-day ‘ fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus ’ in the Education Committee, which was prepared to sever, without a struggle, our Church’s last connection with the Schools, by handing over the Training Colleges—because, forsooth, the U.F.s or W.F.s do not know what to do with theirs ! I think — and I helped to stiffen them up a bit. But it is a matter of anxiety.”

To M. W. : “ December 4th, 1904 : I am much distressed over the effort of the Government to transfer our Training Colleges to a secular Committee (what worse could the Whigs do ?), and still more by the apathy of our Church leaders. All that is good about Knox is forgotten : if I have to preach about him¹ it shall be on the text, ‘ Ye build the *tombs* of the prophets.’ Here they are actually bidding the Committee let go the last hold the Church has on the education of the people, and this in the face [of the fact] that it is the sceptically-minded among our teachers who are choosing that profession. We shall soon have our teachers objecting to give Scripture instruction, and others giving it in a form worse than if it were not given at all. I am much worried over this and at a great loss as to what I ought to do.”

“ March 30th, 1905 : Education Committee, Edinburgh, 2-30. Pressed my view that we should adopt second suggestion of Lord Londonderry and hand over secular subjects (in Training Colleges) to new Committee, but retain Religious Instruction for Church, (as Minute allows).”

“ May 24th : My motion [in General Assembly] in favour of retaining the Religious Instruction in Training Colleges in the Church’s hands only got three votes. But it was made.”

“ December 28th : Education Committee. I gained a great victory. At last meeting, though I had four supporters I was defeated on the Motion that the Religious Instruction in the transferred Training Colleges should be given *by the Church*, and dissented : at this meeting we

¹ The Quater-centenary of the birth of John Knox occurred in 1905.

were told that the Government wanted this, so it was unanimously agreed to. Security is given as to place of Religious Instruction in programme, Diploma, etc. It is to be given by 'the Rector, a Lecturer, or other suitable person; *or other suitable person* appointed by *General Assembly's Committee.*' (Words in italics mine)."

To Dr. Sprott: "5th June, 1905: Dr. Theodore Marshall has gladly accepted the [Macleod Memorial] Lectureship for this year, and is to speak of old Dr. Leishman's¹ and Dr. John Macleod's Home Mission and Church Extension Work, the Residences, and John Macleod's Church Reform Scheme—which bit by bit is being realised, though in a somewhat poor and vulgar fashion.

"I think our restored *Cathedrals and how to use them* would be a good subject for your Presidential [Ecclesiological Society] Address. Have you read Dr. Pusey on Cathedrals? It contains a fine reference to Chalmers, which might be cited with advantage. . . . A good deal has been written on the subject since: notably by the late Archbishop Benson. The discussion on Iona in the Assembly is of some interest only as shewing how much the Trustees have to learn. Dr. Blair should be encouraged."

The question of suitable use for the buildings at Iona continually recurred to Dr. Cooper's mind. The neglect of a possession which carried such wealth of association and appeal seemed to him evidence of a kind of dementia in the Church, or at least of an incurable lack of imagination.

To Dr. Sprott: "November 15th, 1905: Mr. Macpherson, Birsay, being ill and unable to read his paper at the Ecclesiological, I have arranged that Dr. Honeyman's paper—which he had promised us at Glasgow next week—be read at Edinburgh on Saturday. It is extraordinarily important, for Dr. Honeyman has made remarkable discoveries at Iona. Also he tells me that the (male) Conventual buildings (with those of the Nunnery, not far off) could easily be refitted for a boarding school for Highland youths intending the Universities, etc. I think you ought to reserve your remarks until you have heard the paper. It is a great pity that Mr. Ross, who has been associated with Dr. Honeyman at Iona, is unable to be present. Dr. Russell I met to-day, and invited; he will come. Perhaps you might give him an opportunity of speaking."

To the same: "27th November: I send you (1) a letter

¹ The Very Rev. Matthew Leishman, D.D., of Govan; Moderator, 1858.

just received from Dr. Honeyman anent the proposal to utilise Iona as a school ; and (2) a pamphlet shewing what the Church of England did with the once-ruined Abbey of her Apostle. I think it may be useful to you in preparing your paper for the Ecclesiological Society. As soon as you have read the pamphlet you might send it back to me, as I am trying to get the Highland students here to take up the matter.

“ I think that the School at Iona should be *preparatory* to the Universities, and that Gaelic and Sacred Music should be specialities in the curriculum. The teaching staff should be a College under a clerical head, and to them we should look for work of Celtic learning. Missionary zeal should be encouraged among boys and teachers, and historical lectures on the Columban missions should be delivered. In summer during vacation time clerical and missionary *Retreats* should be held.”

In his diary (during the following General Assembly) “ June 2nd : Last day of Assembly. Iona. The Committee have got the idea of using it as a place for the bodily recovery of a jaded minister : Dr. Blair suggested a spiritual retreat.

“ Last appearance of Jacob Primmer : protestation taken by Rev. Mr. McLaren that he had not prosecuted his appeal, and that the judgment of the Presbytery had become final. They should have squashed him long ago ! ”

In November, 1905, the Church Society held in Glasgow its Sixth Conference. The general subject, suggested doubtless by the circumstances of the time, was that of *Stewardship for Christ*, resting on our Lord's Stewardship for the Father, and distinctive of the Church as in trust of truth, ordinance and discipline and as responsible for unity, evangelism, and the Christian system of society. An experiment was tried in the disuse of formal papers, for which an outline of discussion was substituted. No marked success followed this innovation ; there was much good talk, but the talk was unduly discursive and failed to follow the very careful and thorough direction of the printed scheme, and in subsequent Conferences the Society has returned to observance of its own motto and has followed the older path. Dr. Cooper stayed for the time of the Conference at the Hotel where most of those attending it were quartered, and at the close opened his house at 8, The College, for a Reception of the members and their friends.

To M. W. : “ November 24th, 1905 : The Conference was

especially *enjoyable*, though I do not know that the dispensing with written papers gave us the same food for thought. But the intercourse and exchange of ideas were valuable. There is a talk of having one next at Iona : but we have two years to think of that."

CHAPTER XI

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONTROVERSIES

DURING these earlier years of Dr. Cooper's professoriate the question of the Church's relation to the Confession of Faith had been steadily coming into prominence. The story of the Formula which defines that relation dates from the Revolution Settlement. King William III had desired a comprehensive arrangement which should include all willing to conform to the new (Presbyterian) platform. The Act of 1690, which ratifies and confirms the Confession, says nothing about subscription. In 1693 the Scots Parliament under pressure from those who aimed to exclude conforming Episcopalians, enacted a formula declaring the whole doctrine of the Confession to be the confession of the subscriber's faith. In 1711, the Assembly, fearing the introduction of Episcopally minded incumbents under the restored system of Lay Patronage, enacted a new and more stringent formula, declaring the whole doctrine of the Confession to be the truths of God. In 1889 the Assembly returned to the formula of 1693, and was advised, (1) that the Act of 1693 was in force: (2) that no stricter formula than it imposed was legal. Overtures on the subject continued to come up, until in 1903, upon an Overture from Greenock asking for a declaratory note appended to the Confession, Dr. Scott offered instead a present declaration "that the Confession of Faith is to be regarded as an infallible rule of faith and worship only in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture, interpreted by the Holy Spirit." Principal Stewart moved instead for an approach to Parliament, but Dr. Scott's declaration was carried "by a large majority," with an instruction that it should be read to subscribers at the time of their signing the Confession.

In some sections of the Church this declaration created uneasiness and dissatisfaction. Its declaratory form was held to except it from the requirement of the Barrier Act—

which shows how illusory a security that Act may be. The Assembly which made it had not heard its terms until they were read from the table in the course of debate. In form it dealt with a question which had never been raised and in reason could not be entertained—that of the infallibility of the Confession of Faith. It appeared to state a truism—but its psychological impression might be that the whole content of the Confession was referred to the private judgment of the subscriber. Dr. Sprott in his paper on the “Judgment in the Free Church Case” says of it: “In the opinion of many this declaration refers it to every man’s conscience to judge how far the Confession agrees with Scripture, and is to be regarded as a rule of Faith and Worship. It did not pass the Barrier Act and some hold it to be contrary to that Act under the precedent of 1816.” Cooper wrote of it:¹ “It was brought before the Assembly as part of a motion of which no previous notice had been given and it was accepted without much discussion and without adjournment. But serious objection was taken afterwards on the grounds that (1) it was based on a very doubtful interpretation of the passage in the Confession which it professes to follow: (2) that it apparently makes the assent of the individual the criterion of truth. The hope of getting rid of the Declaration undoubtedly contributed to the unanimity of the support which the Assembly of 1905 gave to the proposals of the Church Interests Committee.” Dr. Mair, writing of “Churches and The Law,” is still more emphatic:—“The resolution quite plainly puts Scripture in place of the Confession as the document to be signed and therefore violates an Act of Parliament.”

It was challenged in the following Assembly by means of an Overture from Members of Assembly, respectably signed. Such Overtures, however, do not carry the same weight as those which emanate from Courts of the Church, and it did not appear on the billet until the last day of the Assembly, a fact with which Dr. Scott, in opposing the Overture, made much play, talking of conspiracy between the High Church and the Evangelicals, though on Dr. Cooper’s protest he withdrew the phrase. It is likely enough that men, troubled for the Church and for their own position in it, may have taken counsel together—else the Overture could hardly have been prepared for submission; and if so, Cooper would, no doubt, be one of them, since he signed the Overture. I do

¹ *Confession of Faith and Formulas*, p. 78.

not remember either the consultations or who conferred, but it is long ago and there have been so many such occasions of distress. I can find scarcely any reference in his diaries or letters of these years either to the declaration of 1903 or to the unsuccessful Overture for its reconsideration in 1904. Of the former I find only a passing sentence in a letter to a friend, in which he says that Professor Paterson's speech in the debate of 1903 was by far the finest of the Assembly; while of the 1904 Overture he has only the colourless entry: "Our Overture on Confession of Faith:—*Deliverance of last year*. It is of doubtful legality. Drs. Scott and Mair say it leaves the Confession and the Church's relation to it where they were. They deny any difference between fundamentals and anything else." Dr. Cooper's mind, as he often himself said, worked slowly—Dr. Scott's declaration probably took him, as well as other people, by surprise, and till he had time to consider and discuss it, he would not appreciate its effect. But his silences often, as I read these old papers, surprise me.

The whole position in these matters of subscription was changed by the decision in the Free Church Case. The opportunity for approach to the Legislature for relaxation of the Act of 1693, which limited the Church's powers of action in that respect, seemed to have come. The Church Interests' Committee had no remit authorising them to consider or report on the question—Principal Stewart's proposal for enquiry into ways and means of making such application had been negatived. Nevertheless, if the thing was to be done, as Lord Balfour and his Committee thought it should be done, no delay was possible—the necessary sanction must be obtained from the Assembly of 1905—and a report in that sense was prepared. It was understood that a Bill would be submitted to Parliament reinstating the United Free Church in a proportion of the property of the former Free Church, and this without challenge of the sweeping declaration of "Spiritual freedom" which might be expected from its Assembly—and in these circumstances it did not seem likely that Parliament would refuse a request by the Church of Scotland for moderate relaxation of a formula whose specific occasion was now a matter of ancient history. Cooper had by this time become anxious over this question of formulas, and the proceedings in the Church Interests' Committee gave him concern. In all this of "the Church's relation to its Confession" he was more or less of a divided mind. He

disliked the Calvinism of the Westminster documents—it was an obstacle to Reunion with Episcopalians; he was ready always to defend Calvinism as being in effect Augustinianism—Augustine, he submitted, was not a heretic, but a Doctor of the Church; at the same time he was aware of the difficulty which its prominence in our standards created. The formula of 1693 was the standing memorial, as it was the instrument, of the oppressive proceedings which had made effective the exclusion of Episcopalians from the National Church. On the other hand, the Westminster Confession was our formal link to the Catholic Faith; it contains, Dr. Denney said, every word of the Nicene Creed; subscription to the one is in effect subscription to the other. It may not be the only link—the Church in 1566, 1567 and 1638 accepted the Second Helvetic Confession, which explicitly adheres to the three Catholic Creeds; but comparatively few people know of the Second Helvetic, while everyone knows of the Westminster Confession. Formulas of subscription began to appear to Cooper important, and he feared some extreme recommendation of relaxation. The third Church Congress met in Edinburgh in October, excitement over the House of Lords' decision being at its highest. In his opening address Dr. Scott reviewed the position, and also dealt with the questions of the Confession and of approach to Parliament for legislation repealing the Act of 1693. In his diary Cooper writes:—"19th October: To Edinburgh for Church Congress. Dr. Scott's speech pretty *misty*: he seemed to favour repeal of Act 1693: spoke slightly of the ancient Creeds; deprecated a revision of the Confession: sneered at those who are careful about orders, and defined 'faith' as '*fiducia*'!"

To M. W.: "15th November, 1904: We are more anxious still over what we believe is to be proposed to-morrow at the Church Interests' Committee—*such* a relaxation of the Formula in regard to the Confession of Faith as may leave our Church *practically* creedless (as the U.F.'s wish to be)—and so open to all Unitarians and sceptics who want a leisurely literary life in a quiet manse. This must be resisted *à l'outrance*. And if we are beaten in the fight the Church of Scotland can be no home for us—so we are very anxious."

To Dr. Sprott: "April 10th, 1905: I have ordered another copy of the Essay" (a publication of the time which gave Dr. Cooper alarm) "and we are to send it to Lord Balfour of Burleigh to shew that we are not in a position to

tamper with our Confession of Faith. Unless they will give us the Creeds, we must refuse all change."

To M. W.: "April 16th: It is proposed to agitate for leave to draw up a new formula for ministers on any lines we please, so that we may be as free as the U.F.'s will be. This last consideration will weigh, I fear, much more than the peril to the Faith, and we may see Unitarianism made lawful in the Church. Could anything be more alarming?"

Dr. Cooper was not the only person disquieted. There was an interview with Lord Balfour at which Dr. Theodore Marshall, Mr. Rankine of Titwood, Mr. Anderson of Renfrew, and others who are still alive, were present. Cooper's diary note runs, "March 1st, 1905: Met Lord Balfour of Burleigh at 10. . . . We agreed to let Lord Balfour frame his scheme, reserving criticism till we see it. I doubt we have 'signed a blank cheque': but he assured us he would see that no loophole was left for denial of the Catholic Faith and urged the need, which we allow, of some relaxation."

It was not in fact probable that a Committee presided over by Lord Balfour should suggest to the Assembly anything extreme, and when his Report appeared it disclosed a simple recommendation that the Church should apply to Parliament to repeal the clause in the Act of 1693 which imposed the present formula, and to substitute for it a clause (to be prescribed by the General Assembly with consent of Presbyteries) requiring adherence to the Confession of Faith (as in the earlier Act 1690); that is to say, to the Confession as containing "the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches"; and this recommendation was unanimously accepted. Cooper inclined to think well of it: "May 26th: Great day in the Assembly: unanimous in favour of Bill for a new formula and liberty to frame one on lines securing orthodoxy and constitutional procedure."

When the expected Bill appeared, it contained a clause as desired, but going further than the Church had requested that it should go. The reference to "sum and substance" was removed: the formula was to be "such as may be prescribed by Act of the General Assembly"—with the consent of the majority of Presbyteries. Cooper foresaw the possibility that the next Assembly (1906) might take upon itself to prescribe—after the action of 1904 any haste of action seemed possible; and he advised that Presbyteries should anticipate it by consultation and suggestion.

To Dr. Sprott: "24th July, 1905: On consideration of

the point we spoke of on Saturday—whether the Presbyteries should begin, or wait till the Assembly—the latter course, if more respectful, would also limit very effectually the rights of Presbyteries: they could initiate nothing, but only approve or reject what the Assembly pleases to send down. It is very important that it should be put before the Presbyteries to include an express adhesion to the ancient Creeds. . . . You are of course at liberty to shew Sir James [Fergusson's] letter. The 5th Clause of the Bill is exactly the same as it was when the Bill was first introduced. I don't think the Clergy in general have the least idea how widely it departs from the form asked for by the Church."

The Assembly, however, when it met, did nothing precipitate, but appointed a Special Committee to prepare and submit a new formula. Cooper moved for a direction that this should contain a declaration of personal belief in the "sum and substance" and Dr. Marshall enquired as to the Questions to be asked in the Ordination Service—but both were held to be anticipating the action of next Assembly.

To Dr. Sprott: "28th August, 1906: As I passed through Edinburgh I encountered Lord Balfour, who said that in the interest of the fundamentals he thought now it would be best to abandon any attempt to make the *Formula* explicit in regard to them, and trust for their defence to the Questions to be put at Ordination. I said I was clear we should stand out for security all along the line, and would fight for an adequate Formula. 'You will not get it,' he said. 'I will try,' said I; and we parted smiling. But of course the sense of the Formula would be read into the Questions; and if we give up the Formula, we shall be asked next to let the Questions be modified to meet it! I am clear for fighting, even if we have to present a minority report to the Assembly. We must have a reference to the Ancient Creeds, and (after ——'s letter, which please return) I think also to Chapter II and VIII in the Confession of Faith."

To M. W.: "4th September, 1906: I have been extra busy preparing a *catena* of historical authorities for the Assembly's Committee on the Formula, where we shall have a lot of anxious work. We are having trouble here too about the 'Individual Cup,' and I am considering how to approach the General Assembly on the subject. Every bad innovation is welcomed: every good one howled at, ere it is followed. Dr. Niven prayed for the dead man at Dr. Matheson's funeral in a way I never did!"

The Committee thus appointed had a busy time during the following months. It adopted in the first place resolutions: that the Formula should refer to the Confession only "and not to documents extraneous to it"—this ruled out reference to the Creeds, and Cooper, Sprott and another dissented—and that it should contain an expression of personal belief. Cooper's diary has an entry which explains the former of these resolutions: "Dr. Donald Macleod said there was a great risk of the Presbyteries rejecting the Creeds (in this connection) which would be misunderstood outside of Scotland and might seriously compromise the Church. . . . On the whole we came out well. *Laus Deo.*"

To Dr. Sprott: "November 22nd, 1906: No harm was done yesterday. We got many testimonies for the *use* of the Creeds, which we can now press and encourage without being suspected; and we had quite a respectable number of supporters. The 'Broad men' who voted against personal belief made a poor show. . . . Look at Formula No. 40. It is based on the Form for Church Government; if we could put into it the words about the sum and substance—for which we must make a stand—it would have many recommendations."

Each of us was allowed to send in three "Specimens," and abundant use was made of the permission. There are drafts of two among Cooper's papers—both proceed on adherence to the "sum and substance" and on the express inclusion of Chapters II and VIII of the Confession as undoubtedly parts of it; but as both contravene the Committee's resolution as to "extraneous documents" and refer to the Creeds, they cannot have been in that shape considered. Seven specimens were selected and voted on, and of these two were sent on to the Assembly. The distinctive phrase of the one was "I believe the Reformed faith therein set forth," and of the other, "I believe the substance of the doctrine contained therein." There was much debate and many alternatives were suggested. A considerable section of the Assembly seemed to incline to leave the old formula as it stood; others desired a merely corporate, as distinguished from a personal, adherence to the Confession. Cooper for his part moved to send the matter back to the Committee with instruction to reconsider its resolution barring reference to the Creeds, but he withdrew his motion. In the end the former of the two "Specimens" was selected and sent down to Presbyteries.

There it was met with an unexpectedly hostile criticism—chiefly, I think, on the ground that it did not sufficiently relax, but also for its reference to the “Reformed Faith,” to which some objected that, while the Church had been reformed, the Faith is irreformable, and others that, if the phrase meant anything, it meant the Calvinistic system as a whole. Only ten of the Presbyteries accepted the new Formula; seventy-two rejected it. In the Assembly it had been carried by “an overwhelming majority.” It has been said that there is an Assembly conscience and a Presbytery conscience, both distinguishable from the individual conscience. The matter thus closed was reopened in next Assembly by fresh Overtures from four different Presbyteries and was this time referred to a small Committee in place of the “large and representative” Committee of the previous attempt. It came to the Assembly of 1909 with a formula by which the subscriber declared that he accepted the Confession as the Confession of the Church, and that he “believed the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained therein.” This may or may not be a formula of subscription to the Confession—as to that opinions have differed. The Assembly of 1910 would not say “as contained therein.” Cooper spoke accepting the formula, pointing out that the Confession was a protection for which in the “East Church Case” he had had reason to be thankful, and that the adherence of its second clause was to the “Christian faith,” the Catholic faith. Against a motion to leave things as they were under the old Act of 1693 and that of 1889, which had support of some weight, it was carried by the usual “large majority.” The Presbyteries received it well, and indeed, in so far as it differed from that which they had rejected, it differed for the better; the Assembly of 1910 confirmed the approval of the Presbyteries and it passed into use.

This was by no means the only controversial matter which occupied Dr. Cooper during these years. They were years of conflict, and for him of distress. The General Assembly was in many respects changed from its old self as he had in earlier years known it. A generation had passed since the transfer of patronage to congregations, and a new clergy had grown up under the influence of the new system. The Assembly itself had been enlarged by more than half—it numbered now over 700 members—some half dozen less than the then House of Commons, which sufficed to represent the United King-

dom ; its place of meeting had been altered from a convenient compactness which encouraged debate to the spaciousness of a much galleried hall, less adapted for discussion than for the delivery of set speeches ; with the result that the Assembly had taken the aspect, less of a Court and more of a popular gathering, less of a deliberative body and more of an audience. Its lay element had become more fluctuating in composition and the proportion of members strange to its forms and unfamiliar with its topics was larger. Such an element in any convention must naturally and properly incline to seek the path of safety in following and supporting official action. The absence of an opposition must be convenient for any government, but is not necessarily conducive to sound government or to the development of sound measures. Without being habitually unanimous, the Assembly tended more than formerly to reach its conclusions by "large" or by "overwhelming" majorities. The influence of "the Table" was increased ; anything like opposition found less support. The old caution with which since 1843 the Assembly had been accustomed to handle questions of lawfulness had lessened, since it had become apparent that the Civil Courts would not examine grievances unless patrimonial interests or civil rights were involved ; nor then, if they arose from action in matters within the Assembly's jurisdiction. The doctrine of *nobile officium*—a term borrowed from the vocabulary of the Court of Session, but in its ecclesiastical application nearly, if not quite, equivalent to a doctrine of prerogative—if not so often mentioned, was more readily applied in practice. Many things were now possible which, a generation earlier, would have seemed improbable. Nor did the Assembly now always continue its sittings for the traditional ten days, and evening *Sederunts* once frequent, if not usual, had become exceptional, while its routine business had grown larger. Debate was still theoretically free, but in practice tended more and more to be restricted to the measure of the patience of an audience, of which the greater part necessarily attended, not to debate, but to listen and to vote. All this had followed automatically from the increase in its numbers.

In the closing days of the Session of Parliament, 1907, an Act had been passed legalising as a civil contract the marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Such a marriage is forbidden by the Confession of Faith and is named in its Table of forbidden degrees. The matter was reported to the Assembly

of 1908 by the Church Interests Committee, of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh was Convener. He desired no action with reference to it, but a Committee was appointed to consider how the Church should act. This Committee reported in 1909. The Confession of Faith decided the law of the Church as to marriage, and the Assembly could not alter the Confession without the consent of Parliament. The Committee reported that in the opinion of the majority of them such marriages were not contrary to the Holy Scriptures nor in any certain way to the principles of Christian Morals, and recommended that Ministers celebrating such marriages and parties contracting them should be relieved from ecclesiastical censures. Lord Balfour of Burleigh moved that no action be taken in the matter. He characterised the Committee's proposal as flagrant and indecent Erastianism, pointed out that it broke up the principle of the equivalence of affinity and consanguinity on which the Church's law of marriage depended, and that it would lead to further infringements of its application. Dr. Cooper went further and desired that the Church should reaffirm its law and enjoin obedience to it, insisting that there exists a Christian law of marriage, distinct from the Levitical, and delivered to us by our Lord—a law which excludes the marriage of persons in near affinity. The Committee's recommendation was carried by a "very large majority." The matter passed to Presbyteries by overture from the Assembly, and received their almost unanimous approval. It came back in due course to the Assembly of 1910 to be passed into an Act. Dr. Cooper moved its dismissal and made the new point—a point of some constitutional importance—that the Overture left the law as it was and proposed to dispense with it, "a claim on the part of the Assembly to that dispensing power which, when it was exercised by James VII and II of England, was held to be a ground for depriving him and his descendants of the throne. . . . Was the General Assembly as the Supreme Court of the Church going to follow a precedent so essentially tyrannical?" The Overture, he said, was an evasion of the Confession on what Lord Balfour had described as "a capital point of morals." The Overture was passed into an Act "by a large majority"—Cooper and others recording dissent.

"August 27th, 1907: Deceased Wife's Sister Bill passed. Lord Balfour did utter a protest in the name of the Church of Scotland."

" July 6th, 1908 : Committee of General Assembly on Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. ——— and ——— thought the only Scripture law of marriage was that contained in Lev. xix ! They had no notion of Christ's new law ! "

" November 15th, 1908 : Assembly's Committee on Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Act. I was alone in upholding the law of the Church, and was asked to write for January a statement of my reasons for objecting to a change, or rather grounds in Scripture and Christian faith and morals for upholding present law. But Lord Balfour writes on same side."

To Dr. Sprott : " 30th August, 1907 : I was interviewed to-day in the Marriage Affinity Act by a Glasgow reporter, and appear at full length—with some errors of the reporter laid to my charge—in the *Evening Citizen*. I quite believe there will be an outcry of all decent people against the measure. I have written to the *Scotsman*, but omitted one point I wished to make—how little the history of this Bill has to encourage the idea that if the *Church* were disestablished the laws of *Christ* would be respected.

" P.S. How can the Assembly or any Church Court legislate against its own Confession of Faith ? We can't touch it. Thank God for this at present." But a way was found.

To Dr. Sprott : " 9th October, 1907 : It was an unwonted experience I had yesterday—a Synod unanimous in my favour." (The Presbytery of Glasgow had found competent a motion to order Ministers to "obtemper the law" of the State in relation to the Deceased Wife's Sister Act, and Cooper had appealed successfully). "But the *competence* of Mr. Anton's motion was one thing and its merits another, and we must be prepared to speak of both. I trust that the result will be a clearing of men's views all round. The vagueness of teaching in the last thirty years, and the total lack of courage on the part of our Churchmen, have much to answer for. It was when men perceived the *boldness* of Peter and John that the Church was multiplied."

To M. W. : " 31st August, 1907 : I am grievously concerned about the passing of this Marriage Act, which puts our Church in quite as evil a case as the Church of England : though as a matter of fact our Ministers are not obliged by law to solemnise any marriage whatever. But few of them have studied the doctrine of marriage, and the vice of time-serving is rampant among us."

As early as 1904¹ Cooper had referred to what he described as a "horrible proposal,"—the use of individual cups in the administration of Holy Communion in place of the Common Cup,—the "large Cups" which the Directory prescribes. Two years later he writes of it again to the same friend.

"October 24th, 1906 : The 'individual Cup' has come up in Glasgow, and I have had a good deal of work on a Committee of Presbytery regarding it. It is clearly contrary to the *law* of the Church as laid down in the Directory, and the real reason why many want it came out in the remark of one of the folks we had to deal with—'Tom, Dick and Harry had been drinking out of it!' One wonders what spiritual benefit some folks expect from the Sacrament and how much they are prepared to risk or suffer out of brotherly love. I am afraid the present fashion of preaching neither instructs nor corrects, and that the sheerest wilfulness takes the place of obedience to the law of CHRIST. I hope we may get the practice stopped. Our difficulty here is that in the old U.P. Church, from which we draw many of our members, the *congregation* had the deciding of almost everything."

A month later he writes again, "I am grieved to say that the Committee on the 'Individual Cup' are in favour of allowing it—you see, it is coming in among the U.F.'s, and that overbalances everything else with —— and his friends. . . . Dr. Sprott, Sheriff Sym and I will probably give in a 'Minority report'—which must be a reasoned document. The Kirk is in no good way—from men within who seem to regard it as a house of their own, where they can do what they like, or fancy to be popular. But we shall not let things slide without a struggle."

In his diary Cooper mentions how he was supported by the opinion of a very eminent surgeon, who, he says, "called and told me that danger in Communion Cup at Holy Communion was 'quite negligible'—less than sleeping in a hotel or ship's cabin : at the same time he recommends the Church to pass regulations for Communion at home of phthisical and cancerous persons."

The Presbytery of Glasgow came to the Assembly of 1907 by Overture, stating that the innovation had been adopted in three Churches within their bounds and was threatened in a fourth, and asking that the law of the Church on the subject should be declared. The spokesman for the Presbytery asked for a reference to a Special Committee of enquiry. Dr.

¹ See p. 224.

Scott characterised the innovation as “loathsome,” overturning the sacred usage of the Church, destroying the symbolism of the Sacrament, and making the Church ridiculous, but supported the proposal for a Committee. The motion was opposed, for the law was in no dubiety—the author of the motion had himself declared the law : but it was carried “ by a large majority.” Cooper said in the debate that “ he would not like to say that the practice invalidated the Sacrament, but that it was a clear departure from the Institution.”

Two reports were tabled at next Assembly, one from the majority of the Committee and the other from a minority in which Cooper was included. The former advised that the matter should be left to the discretion of ministers, the latter that the innovation should not be approved. The Assembly remitted the matter back to the Committee enlarged, for further examination. The result was again a majority and also a minority report. The majority held that the matter fell within the discretion of the minister and deprecated interference by Church Courts. The minority held that the innovation was a departure from the Institution, “ as it certainly is from the law of the Church,” and suggested that a remedy might be found in more frequent celebration. Dr. Cooper’s amendment to the Committee’s Deliverance declined to sanction the innovation. There were other amendments, of which, one—Dr. Norman Macleod’s—declared that the Assembly did not feel justified in forbidding the Individual Cup, “ much as they regret the introduction of a practice so novel and in many respects undesirable.” The Procurator, who is the legal adviser of the Church, said that the question being one of law, he must advise that the present law of the Church forbade the individual cup and required the Common Cup. The vote lay ultimately between Dr. Cooper’s and Dr. Macleod’s motion, and the latter was carried,—Dr. Cooper and others dissenting. The Barrier Act was not invoked or applied—presumably because in form the Assembly’s Deliverance was not the enactment of a “ binding rule and constitution,” but only a declination of that present Assembly to enforce the law.¹ Cooper re-

¹ The deliverance of the Assembly was as follows :—“ The General Assembly see no sufficient reason for departing from the ancient and uniform practice of the Church in the Administration of the Lord’s Supper—so expressive and solemn and endeared by the hallowed associations of centuries ; but in view of the information on various aspects of the subject submitted in the Report they do not feel justified in forbidding the Indivi-

ceived the adverse decision with his habitual elasticity of spirit. The Eucharist, he writes in his diary, had been treated "as on a level with instrumental music," yet he describes the finding as "discouraging, not sanctioning, but refusing to forbid the Individual Cups, out of fear (I hear) of trouble from the Innovators. I had the Assembly with me."

And he writes: "I am glad that the 'Individual Cup' goes out of favour. The Assembly was dead against it—even its apologists were extremely apologetic. And we are told that it is losing favour in the land of its invention—U.S.A. The worst of it is that it is spreading among the U.F.s."

And again—"The Assembly has been a trying one, but not so bad as one feared. It is something to have it clearly declared that the law of the Church is on our side." Yet it was difficult for even him to be always sanguine; the decision filled him with a sense of grievance—it was again an exercise of "dispensing power," government by prerogative instead of government by law, and in his judgment as hard to bear when exercised by a judicature as when exercised by a monarch. Just before that Assembly he had written to a friend: "Infringements on Holy Communion seem to grow rank and fast. As if the Individual Cups were not bad enough, we have had a minister before us at the Synod who would not give his people anything except 'unfermented wine.' We beat him, but he has appealed to the Assembly, and I have just finished a strong letter to the Moderator, taking strong ground and saying I will leave the Church of Scotland if the Assembly is to *sanction* two such innovations—both quite contrary alike to Scripture and the Confession of Faith. I think the situation very serious. What is the use of defending our Orders, if with our own hands we destroy the Sacrament which our Orders were given us to celebrate?"

A series of papers by the Very Rev. Dr. Mair had been appearing—the first in 1904, followed by others in *Blackwood's Magazine*,¹ calling attention to the divided state of

dual Cup, much as they regret the introduction of a practice so novel and in many respects so undesirable. The General Assembly at the same time charge ministers and Presbyteries to see that the harmony and peace of congregations are not disturbed over this holy ordinance, and that those who desire it shall always have a convenient means and opportunity of partaking in the manner heretofore in use."

¹ December, 1905: November, 1906.

Scottish Presbyterianism. They were written in view of the decision in the "Free Church Case" and of the separation between the Free Church and the United Free Church; and these Articles had created a deep impression. This was seen in a group of Overtures which were mooted in preparation for the Assembly of 1907. Dr. Cooper was not content with Dr. Mair's presentation of the subject as one for Presbyterians only, and moved in his Synod for a wider view of it.

"Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. I submitted an Overture to the Assembly in favour of a comprehensive union (Episcopalians and Presbyterians). Mr. Dill seconded and it was carried unanimously. *Laus Deo*. What am I that I should be honoured thus to inaugurate what I trust will be the beginning of a lasting peace?"

To the Rev. J. Cromarty Smith: "9th April, 1907: I have carried the Overture unanimously.

"It is important to emphasise the point that the Church of Scotland holds its property for the service of *Christ* in Scotland, and cannot make private bargains according to its own fancy for this one and that. At the Revolution they excluded the Episcopalians (1) because they themselves held the Divine right of Presbytery: (2) because many of the Episcopalians were, and all of them were suspected of being, Jacobites—enemies to the Protestant succession. We have given up No. 1: there is no ground for No. 2. But with the Episcopalians we must be careful to include all Presbyterians who will unite in a National Church, and especially the Highlanders, where (a) this principle has always been held, and (b) where the absolute need of endowments has been demonstrated. Moreover, Schism, ugly everywhere, is at its ugliest there. Some of the writers deserve chastising, but none are worthy of it. What we want is clear evidence that (1) a comprehensive union is desired by the Church, and (2) would be welcomed by Episcopalians. I am very thankful."

There are letters of about this time to an Episcopal Clergyman who, like Cooper, desired that a movement should be made towards reconciliation of Presbytery and Episcopacy. Mr. Hannan contributed to the *Scotsman* of March 30th, 1907, an article on *Imperial Religion*, and on April 27th followed it up with another, entitled *To Repair the Breaches*. Each of these elicited from Dr. Cooper an appreciative response, and together the letters give fully his views at that time.

To the Rev. Thos. Hannan, of St. Peter's Church, Musselburgh : " Easter Day (March 31st), 1907 : Our Lord's words to His disciples this day were '*Peace be unto you,*' and I feel that I am keeping the Day by sending you this line to thank you for your admirable communication in yesterday's *Scotsman*, which I have just this moment finished.

" I thank you for it, and I thank *God*. Perhaps you do not know how timely it is. But we were on the eve of a very great danger which I have dreaded all my thinking life—a *merely* Presbyterian union. . . . I said at once on hearing it : ' We must go in for a Conference with *all the children of the Scottish Reformation.*' This is fair in itself, (1) for it was *our* fault mainly, after the Revolution, that precipitated the division between the Scottish Episcopalians and the Establishment. *We* hindered King William's *Inclusive* projects. The Episcopal Church never got justice.

" (2) A *merely* Presbyterian union would not be safe in the interests of the Catholic Faith, or of such remnants of Catholic order as we have retained. The wider union would conserve both.

" (3) A union with the U.F. Church only would mean the surrender of the Establishment *principle* which many of us value and will not let go.

" (4) It would not unite the Reformed of Scotland, but would deepen the ditch between us and you : and it would add to our present misery of class distinctions in the Church : where there should never be anything of the kind.

" (5) Our political union with England cannot be dissolved. But a *merely* Presbyterian union would strengthen the ranks of nonconformity throughout the Empire, and wherever our flag went we should have a powerful Episcopal Church confronted and opposed by a powerful alliance of so-called Free Churches.

" (6) An alliance with Presbyterians alone would proceed on the principle that the Church's supreme law is *not* the declared *will of Christ*, but the (supposed) inclinations of the Scottish people. As if it were more important to be Scottish than to be Christian.

" (7) And this ' Scotland ' would be the least attractive part of the Scottish people.

" These were my fears. I was wondering how to meet the danger. And now at the very moment you come forward with this powerful appeal and invitation. *It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.* . . . I think our

Church should take the initiative as it did in the matter of the joint Catechism, and invite all the Reformed Churches in Scotland to send representatives to a conference. The Episcopal Church (1) initiated the Day of Intercession for unity: (2) through Mr. Rollo of Springburn, the joint Catechism, and (3) the Unity Association. It would be too bad to leave it out now. . . . The precedent of the First Episcopacy (1610-1637) supplies a capital basis."

To the same: "1st May, 1907: Again you have done good service, and I have enjoyed your paper, *To Repair the Breaches*. It is modest and discreet, and hitherto all the fools have been from our (Presbyterian) side of the dividing wall; though I confess I have been a little afraid lest some extreme fellow from your side should air his arrogance. For this reason, and partly because (though I do think a professedly tentative and provisional plan was useful) I feel that till the Churches meet for conference, plans are somewhat premature, I am not going to write to the *Scotsman* what I think of your paper, but prefer to send you my thanks for it in a private letter. You will find, however, in the *Glasgow Herald* of Monday that I had come exactly to your conclusion.

"If a reunion could be effected on those lines, it would be an untold service to the cause of CHRIST, for the British Empire, and wherever British influence extends. And a United British Church, sound in faith, Catholic in order, full of good works, friendly with and helpful to the ancient Churches of the East, would be able even to make terms with the great Roman Church—so that we might help on unity in its fullness. Though this is to look far ahead.

"What all who love those things have most to dread is a merely Presbyterian union, engineered by policy at the bidding of prejudice. Our safety is to set up the revealed will of CHRIST, to invoke the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT, and believing in HIM to be brave enough to walk by principle."

A day or two later (April 29th) Dr. Scott moved in the Presbytery of Edinburgh an Overture desiring the Assembly to reconstitute its Committee on Union and to invite the Free Church and United Free Church to appoint Committees to "confer unreservedly" with it for a comprehensive Presbyterian union. In the Assembly, however, he moved only that all the Overtures should be sent to a Special Committee for consideration and report, as he had learned that other Churches were not ready for conference. Dr. Cooper

moved that the reference to the Committee should include not only the Churches named by Dr. Scott, but "the other Reformed Churches in Scotland." Only thirty members of Assembly supported him, and Dr. Scott's motion was carried with an addendum confining the Committee's attention "in the meantime" to Presbyterian Union—an addendum which disposed of the Overture from Glasgow and Ayr on which Cooper had built so much hope. When the Committee reported in 1908 it laid stress on co-operation as a means towards union, rather than on an immediate quest for union. Cooper again presented a Minority Report which placed reunion in the forefront and excluded an unrestricted and unguarded movement for co-operation, before the principles of union should have been determined. The mover of another and still stronger motion on similar lines said, that co-operation, unless clearly understood, was a very dangerous thing. It may be supposed that the anxiety was, lest the Church should by a policy of co-operation find itself on an inclined plane, on which it would be difficult to arrest itself, if later it should desire to do so. The motion for co-operation in the first place was carried "by a large majority." An invitation to conference on these lines was sent to the United Free Church Assembly, and was by it taken to *avizandum*, for reply in the following year. The reply, when it reached the Assembly of 1909, was found to be on the lines of Dr. Cooper's rather than of Dr. Norman Macleod's motion of the preceding Assembly—it accepted conference, but conference on union and not merely on co-operation, the conference to be "unrestricted." The General Assembly accepted these conditions, and appointed a Committee to confer. As the proceedings which were then initiated have not yet reached any final determination, and as most of the actors in subsequent proceedings are happily still with us, it does not seem proper to make further allusion here to them or to Dr. Cooper's part in them, except so far as is unavoidable and as his action appears in public sources of information; nor to quote from diaries or letters which bear controversially upon the subject. This restriction, however, does not seem to apply to evidences of his interest in a wider union.

CHAPTER XII

THE SEARCH AFTER UNITY

IT has been convenient to group together in the preceding chapter the controversial matters in which Dr. Cooper was engaged during the first decade of this century, as illustrating the change which was then passing over the Church of Scotland and his relation to that change. But controversy, even in his case, is hardly the whole of life. In 1906 he began a series of lectures delivered at the University "to women," which he continued for several sessions—one year described as "to Parish Sisters,"—another year "to ladies" in general—in which he seems to have been at his happiest. For such work he could always find time, and except time it seemed to cost him little—he was ready on short notice to expand on any scriptural or historical topic, wittily and profitably and engagingly, and these lectures continued to attract full audiences. He welcomed the appearance in Glasgow Presbytery of a deputation of influential laymen pleading that Daily Service should be provided in at least two of the City Churches: "I seconded, remembering well that when I began Daily Service at Aberdeen in 1881 I was prosecuted for it. The Eleven Elders said they were determined to put it down." Services then begun have continued till now in St. Enoch's Parish Church—which is about to be removed to the suburbs—and it may be hoped that some City Church, still standing, may take up the good work. In August and September he had the duty at Galashiels and has extensive notes on the local ecclesiology, especially on "the site of Wrangholm, the reputed birthplace of St. Cuthbert, now marked only by six trees. The Smith . . . shewed us the streams from what was eighty-nine years ago St. Cuthbert's Well. The site is within a mile of Smailholm Tower and Sandyknowes, so Sir Walter and S. Cuthbert were near neighbours." He writes

of the late Mr. Lees Cochrane of Kingsknowe, "He is eighty-one years of age and remembers seeing Sir Walter Scott's funeral (1832). The trees [at Abbotsford] were small then, and he recollects the black coats assembly. The old ferryman's name was *Ovens*. He ferried me across in 1864, and told me Sir Walter's answer to Christopher North (which he heard). North—"I am going to a fancy ball in Edinburgh. How shall I disguise myself that the Edinburgh people will not know me?" Scott—"Nothing easier: wash your face and brush your hair, and not a soul will know you.'" A page or two later he records the death of a lady—"a sister of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, Lochaber: she was present when the Macdonells of Glengarry dug up their silver plate buried prior to Culloden, and got a green dragon plate dug up along with it, which she gave to me at Broughty Ferry. I have it yet." He was taken in September to Aberdeen by the celebration of the fourth centenary of the University there; it was honoured by the presence of King Edward and was on that account the more brilliant. Dr. Cooper had to show its guests over St. Machar's Cathedral, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, "who spoke most warmly of Dr. John Macleod." "Glorious weather, the King's voice resonant like Gladstone's or Rosebery's. Queen in deep mourning: pale and fragile. But everything splendid, yet simple. By the King's express wish there were (1) praise, (2) prayer, excellently led by Dr. Cowan. . . . The Strathcona Banquet—a world's wonder and a great pleasure."

Dr. Cooper's correspondence with Dr. Sprott was maintained, and it was chiefly occupied with matters already alluded to:—

To Dr. Sprott: "7th May, 1906: In fulfilment of my promise I send you on a separate paper two extracts from Dr. Cramond's latest work (New Spalding Club)—his *Records of Elgin*, in regard to the post-Reformation history of Elgin Cathedral. The selling of the lead has been often spoken of: the movement, or suggested movement, for the restoration of the Cathedral seems never to have been observed before Dr. Cramond quoted it, and has received little public notice, and none of the comments which it certainly invites. One is entitled to wonder what could be at the back of Bishop Patrick Hepburn's mind—the simplest explanation, I fancy, is the best, that he was really ashamed to see a Church which had been, as one of his predecessors called it, the

ornament of the fatherland, falling into ruin through sheer greed and neglect. Hepburn had presided over it as it was in all its glory, as Forman left it. But this seems to shew that Hepburn, like his nephew Bothwell, had become a Protestant! He was no great honour to any Faith. I do not believe that anything came of this movement, but that it was even proposed is interesting. In his 'Records of the Kirk Session of Elgin,' Dr. Cramond gives the entries following, under date 1644: 'Sunday, 21st April, 1644—The first day of the Convention of the gentrie and commons, the Persone (Parson) of Elgin preached in the towne Kirk (S. Giles), and Mr. Alexander Sumer in the Chanrie (Cathedral) Kirkyard. Collected at both meetings, £6 17s. 6d.'

" '28th April.—Mr. James Parke preached before noone and the Persone preached in the *Chanrie Kirk*. Collected at both Kirks, £7 10s. 6d.'

"The Cathedral had been to a great extent dismantled, but if April 28th was wet, the congregation might be glad of shelter."

His *Confessions of Faith and Formulas* was published early in 1907—a thorough and scholarly piece of work, most convenient for such as have need of reference to its subject. It is in effect an expansion of his Class Lectures read at the time—giving at more length than would be possible in oral delivery the documents which he quoted, and may be taken as a specimen of his University work, as well as an instance of his practice to deal in his Lectures with current incidents of Church life.

In the same month of January Dr. Story passed to his rest. Different as he and Cooper were in temperament and point of view, it may be doubted if anyone felt more deeply the bereavement which the Church and University suffered in the removal from our scene of that stately and charming personality, one of the last of those great debaters who in the Victorian time gave distinction to our ecclesiastical life. Dr. Cooper writes to a friend:—

"15th January, 1907: It was only on Friday that any of us was prepared to think of the Principal's end as near; it was a great shock to be told, as we left the luncheon to the Lord Rector, that he was sinking: and then almost immediately he fell insensible. He is a great loss—to the Church and to Scotland, as well as to Glasgow and the University. He was quite our most distinguished man, and with all his faults he was a great man. He never worshipped success,

nor paltered with what he thought truth : his prejudices were so many loyalties to his father and people, who had *not* been popular : and then his grand English and his magnificent appearance. I saw him after death : all the heat and fierceness over and marble sweetness in their place.

"The Bute Hall will not hold half the people who are coming to the Funeral, and I have had two days' hard and constant work trying to help in making arrangements for the ceremony."

There was little holidaying that year, Mrs. Cooper's failing health preventing her removal to country quarters. In September, Cooper visited Wellingborough, and took the opportunity of seeing the House of the Resurrection at Mirfield—"a wonderful Institution, where I met Father Frere (Superior), Mr. Bull, Mr. Simmons, and Bishop Corfe, late of Corea, and attended service in the oratory." In October, a Church Congress was held in Dundee, which proved to be the last of the series. The fact was that in Scotland with its constant meetings of Church Courts and annual General Assemblies there was not the need for gatherings of the sort, nor the response to their opportunity, which seem to exist across the Border. The Clergy gave scant attendance at them, and there are in Scotland only a few centres of population large enough to be the place of such meetings. It was impossible to divest them of their official character, or to occupy their platform except with the familiar rota of Assembly speakers. The laity did not throng to Congresses as had been expected. On this final occasion Cooper read the opening paper on "The Sanctity of Marriage," but does not seem to have taken further part in the proceedings.

To Dr. Sprott : "21st June, 1907 : I send you your speech at the Church Society Breakfast. Will you be good enough to look over it and correct or modify it as may seem to you desirable. You will see that I have added in a footnote the exact words of the Act of Uniformity. It is surprising how frequently it has escaped observation. Professor Medley did not know of it, and said we should call attention to it. . . . Our Meeting yesterday was very good : and Bishop Dowden's summary that we were very near each other was justified. . . . The committee approved my motion, which may issue in (1) some public action which will make our Unity Association a fact for the public of Scotland, and so a spoke in the wheel of those who think merely of Presbyterian reunion, and (2) a *book* which will serve as an introduction to a series of

irenical reprints. It should do for the cause what was done for Church History by the St. Giles' Lectures. It was remitted to Professor MacEwen, Bishop Dowden and me to draw up a 'definite scheme' and present it in October. My idea is something like the following.¹ Would you suggest improvements please? Archbishop Usher was clear in his recognition of the Foreign Reformed Churches, as he was anxious for a union of the Gallicans with the Church of England. I am to submit the scheme within the next fortnight. The Lectures might be delivered at the four University Seats, and might lead the way to the formation of local branches."

Several incidents in the following year revived Dr. Cooper's indefatigable hope for the "wider union." One of these was the Moderatorship of his friend Dr. Theodore Marshall, who, though discouraged by the attitude of the Anglican authorities in the matter of the Indian Garrison Churches (he had represented the Church of Scotland in urging its claims to use them), and for a time disposed to despair of approaches to reconciliation with Episcopalianism, took in his closing charge from the Chair a tone decidedly favourable to the possibility. Another was the visit to this country of the Archbishop of Melbourne, coming to the Lambeth Conference and bringing news of negotiations which had for some time been going on in Australia for an incorporating union of Anglicans and Presbyterians in what is now the Commonwealth. The Australian Prelate preached in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Ayr in a sanguine and highly conciliatory manner,² and was entertained and introduced at Glasgow by Dr. Cooper. A third circumstance in which he rejoiced was the resolution of the Lambeth Conference itself, which indicated "the precedent of 1610" as a possible basis for future approximation; and, generally, the tone of the Conference as to the question which lay so near his heart.

"April 25th: Consecration of Holy Trinity, Ayr. The Archbishop of Melbourne preached, and told us of the hopes for union of the Church of England in Australia and the Presbyterian Church of Australia. He gave me a copy of the print he is to submit to the Lambeth Conference. But in strict confidence."

"May 19th: Dr. Theodore Marshall, Moderator. Bold

¹ The Scheme is awaiting.

² The sermon is printed in Appendix to the Report of the Scottish Church Society for 1907-1908.

statement of the rights of the Church of Scotland. The King is not over all causes, etc., supreme in Scotland (Act of Parliament, 1690)."

"May 29th: Moderator's Address: last year he told (wrote) me he thought union with Episcopacy visionary, now it was the main theme of his address: one fruit of the Australian project of Reunion—of which (in private) he got all particulars."

"July 30th: Leader in the *Glasgow Herald* on Church Union, which points out that the Episcopalians need not necessarily be left out of schemes for Scottish Reunion. The first time a leading Scottish journal has said so much."

To the Dean of St. Patrick's: "25th July, 1908: As to what should be done: I am convinced that in Scotland we are ready for a conference. There is to be a conference between us and the U.F. Church: this will at once raise the question of some modification of the Acts which make up for us 'the Revolution Settlement (1690-3)' and I hold most strongly that, if these are to be altered, they should be so altered as to allow of our making our Moderators of Synod Bishops. In any case the Scottish Episcopal Church, which was ill used on grounds purely political at that time, ought to use the opportunity to put forward her claims. It will be a new National Settlement and she is no unimportant part of the Scottish nation. But it would be wiser for her to say that she is interested in the healing of our divisions, and would wish to be heard in our conferences. She would be heartily welcomed.

"Some things might be done at once without any repeal of any Act of Uniformity or other—e.g., persons who have been regularly admitted to their First Communion among us ought not to be repelled because they have not been confirmed: though I have always advised young people going to England to seek Confirmation. I regard it as a misfortune that we have it not. And there is no law, or reason, requiring the Scottish Bishops to forbid English Clergymen occasionally preaching in our pulpits, as they do in the Universities. But my great hope is in conferences. The Church is a Kingdom, and you cannot have two rival governments (healthily) in the same geographical area of any Kingdom."

To Dr. Sprott: "31st August, 1908: The Archbishop of Canterbury graciously acknowledged the S.C.S. letter, and the Bishop of Salisbury writes gratefully of the help we gave him. The majority of the Scottish Bishops, Bishop

Lang of Stepney, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had helped greatly. It is a wonderful and a glorious thing that the Resolution in regard to 1610 was unanimously agreed to by the Conference. The Committee's Report, which I hope you have seen, is not less satisfactory."

To M. W. : " 16th September, 1908 : The Scottish Church Society's Letter and my Australian Papers were not without their use and effect at Lambeth ; and the Lambeth Conference has removed the only serious difficulty in the way of reunion. I am glad to perceive a widespread acknowledging of this fact among our Clergy here. On Monday the Archbishop of Melbourne came from Inverness on a day's visit to me. I had more than fifty ministers (Church of Scotland, Episcopal and U.F.) to meet him in my drawing-room at afternoon tea ; then we adjourned to my Classroom which was packed, and had an enthusiastic meeting there. . . . Great progress has been made. The meeting undoubtedly will help forward the movement in Australia, for the leaders both of the Presbyterians there—(Dr. Meiklejohn), and of the Episcopalians—the Archbishop, were present ; and it will help in Scotland too. Our Moderator spoke splendidly. Dr. Sprott took the opening devotions ; we sang *Veni Creator*, repeated the Apostles' Creed, and joined in the Lords' Prayer."

To Dr. Sprott : " 17th October, 1908 : We must go in for a *National* reunion, including both sides. I am sure people are ready for that. Here I am projecting a Reunion Society, on firmer and franker lines than the Edinburgh one (which of course will go on), but with publication and ventilation of our views and proposals of which folks can judge, and to tell them, and shew them, that the Church of Scotland will be the Church of Scotland still, even if she does adopt bishops. It is a truism to us, but hardly to the public."

To the same : " 27th October, 1908 : I have sent my paper to Dr. Weir.¹ It has cost me an infinity of trouble and is not good, but I have put things in order, and have cleared up matters as to Heylin. He does not say that Bancroft brought forward the *per saltum* theory, but only says he might have done so. However, he constructs his sentence awkwardly, and the misunderstanding of him was not malicious."

To the Rev. E. T. W. Drury, Rostrevor : " 8th December, 1908 : I send a quotation from King Charles I which is

¹ The Rev. R. W. Weir, D.D., late of Greyfriars' Church, Dumfries, then Secretary of the Christian Unity Association.

valuable as coming from the one among our Kings who was most conversant with the subject and most deeply interested in it, who indeed laid down his life, as Bishop Creighton says, for *Episcopacy in the Church of England*. You see that even he refrains from denying the Orders of other Churches.”¹

The end of the year was shadowed by the death of Mr. John Wink, the companion of Dr. Cooper’s boyhood and his life-long intimate.—“My dearest friend and cousin . . . eminently a good man, and a lover of our Church and Nation.” His diary for 1909 opens with the entry:—“January 1st, 1909: By God’s good hand upon us, Mother at the age of ninety-six, and I approaching my ‘grand climacteric,’ have reached the beginning of this year in health and peace and comfort. The good old lady is confined to bed, but has all her faculties, suffers nothing, and is a pattern of sweetness and patience. She greatly enjoys the visits of her kind friends.” There were, however, symptoms that her long life was nearly over—repeated fainting fits, which her son notes as “a clear warning.” In February, 1909, she became seriously ill, and died on the 24th of that month. Dr. Cooper notes that in her last illness she “spoke Scotch, as I have never known her to do.” “She asked ‘prayers’ and when they were over bade me good night: her last words to me. A very peaceful termination to a calm and lovely life.” Whatever happiness could be derived from his most tender, proud and careful affection, that she had enjoyed.

From the funeral at Urquhart he returned at once to Edinburgh for the Seventh Conference of the Church Society: “March 3rd: Excellent papers . . . our Requirements in any reunion: Security (1) for the Faith, and (2) for the Ministry, which is just as much a gift to the Church of Christ, Ascended and with us, as the Faith or Sacraments. Excellent papers—good attendance.” Under the stress of the time the papers were perhaps more careful and elaborate than usual, and some of them may have deserved Cooper’s commendation.² His own contribution dealt with *Effective Recognition by the State, not of Religion only, but of the Church*.

¹ “As I am no judge over the Reformed Churches, so neither do I censure them; for many things may be allowable upon necessity which otherwise are unlawful.” *Papers between His Majesty and Mr. Alexander Henderson concerning the change of Church Government*; V. 6. Newcastle, 1646.

² *Reunion: The necessary Requirements of the Church of Scotland*. Scottish Church Society Conference. Fourth Series.—J. Gardner Hitt, 1909.



MRS. J. A. COOPER

From a painting by Helen Mackenzie (Mrs. Budd) 1904.

He had invitations for April—from the Bishop of Salisbury to lecture at the Theological College there and to be present at the Diocesan Synod—and from the Bishop of Bristol to visit him and to give a lecture at the palace to a meeting of Clergy. At Salisbury he gave two addresses, outlining the course of the Reformation in Scotland, and at Bristol he spoke on the precedents of 1610. At Bristol, “after my address one asked how the Scottish Bishops regarded this movement: Bishop replied they were all anxious for it.” “Morning with the Bishop—portrait of Butler. Bishop Westcott’s remark that he couldn’t understand why anyone so thoughtful had no wrinkles—Westcott’s own face being all one wrinkle.” From Bristol he hurried home to attend the funeral of Principal Marshall Lang, and to find himself within a week following to the grave the body of Dr. Theodore Marshall, to whom the labours of his Moderatorship had suddenly proved fatal. Following so closely on the loss of Principal Story the Church felt itself bitterly bereaved. John Marshall Lang had been sympathetic at least with the general tendency of Cooper’s aspirations; Theodore Marshall had been his trusted friend.

During the sittings of the General Assembly Dr. Cooper had private notice that the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters would be offered to him by Dublin University. “I am sure I don’t know what for!” he writes to a friend. The Public Orator at the capping in June explained what needed no explanation.—“*Tam libris quam vita quantum in se est cum omnibus hominibus pacem agit: nec alium scio qui ferventius precatur ut mox rata sint verba Domini Nostri ut sint unum.*”¹ Cooper was too much in charity with the world to conceal natural emotions; he made no secret of his gratification at what he called a quite unlooked for honour—Dublin had not previously looked so far afield for recipients of its diploma—it was a recognition of his work, and still more an intimation of friendliness from the Church of Ireland to that of Scotland. At the same time he noticed a certain measure of precaution—the degree was not in the Faculty of Divinity, his proper subject. A few years later Oxford was to shew itself less conservative. At Dublin he was the guest of Professor Mahaffy and found on every hand charming experiences of Irish hospitality and kindness,

¹ “To the utmost of his power both by his writings and by his life he promotes peace with all: nor do I know anyone who more earnestly prays that our Lord’s words *that they all may be one* may soon be realised.”

and the singing in Trinity College Chapel "exquisite,"—Cooper professed to be tone-deaf, but on Church Music he was inexplicably critical. At the University Library he had in his hand (how reverently !) the Book of Kells, and he saw the Book of Durrow "probably an exact copy by a later scribe of the hurried (yet exact) copy S. Columba made in twelve days." He found Sackville Street "too wide and too short to make the impression I expected," and at the Law Courts noted the statue of Moses on the pediment, and was told how Mr. Gladstone "once declared the Jews never produced a statesman—a young man suggested one—Moses !" As he returned by way of Belfast he regretted to find Dromore Cathedral tower flying six Union Jacks, "because it is July—as if to inflame a dying animosity"—so little do even Professors of History read the future of historical development.

The proceedings of the Committee on Conference with the United Free Church occupied him on his return, and in July he wrote to the *Scotsman* suggesting that "well weighed memorials" embodying various views on what was considered necessary on either side should be sent to the Conveners. He concludes his letter:—"The need and duty of Reunion is very great: but an immediate and partial reunion may be purchased at too dear a rate. It cannot come by the sacrifice of revealed truth: it ought to be a step to realisation of the larger hope. On a genuine acceptance of the historic principles of our Reformed Church it ought, however, to be more than possible."

In August he visited for the first time, Iona. He had written and spoken of it abundantly, but had never made his own pilgrimage to it till now. That blessed island was not yet invaded by the summer visitor or bungalow builder, and Cooper—as many others have been—was somewhat overwhelmed by the sense of its mysterious charm and by the wealth of its sacred associations. The half, he said, had not been told him. Mr. MacGregor Chalmers, then Architect in charge of operations, was there and "shewed us all his discoveries and suggestions." There is a note: "Digging in the Cathedral: discovery of old walls under the floor"—at which Cooper seems to have assisted. At Port-na-Currach, where S. Columba landed, he "had a brief service on the shore," and "found a specimen of S. Columba's small St. John's wort," which, with a blade of Shamrock from Dromore is piously gummed into his diary. He

preached in the choir, already renovated, on the reparation of Iona, and seldom preached better ;¹ thence to Morven to visit John Macleod's grave, and to Ardchattan, whose Priory had to be visited. In September he was at Kilchrist in the Mull of Cantire, and was interested by the number of grave slabs and crosses in that neighbourhood which were locally described as " Iona stones " : " Apparently they were made in Iona, and sent out with spaces left for inscriptions to be filled in by local stone cutters, who did the work poorly : often space not filled. Case of ' Catherine daughter of Neil.' In 1550 good work was still done ; by 1557 another class of tombstone had come into vogue : home-made and much poorer." Mrs. MacNeal, senior of Ugadale " told us that ' in the time of body snatching ' (nineteenth century), when the poor had to watch over their dead by turns, sitting all night in the Churchyard, the lairds in the West Highlands sent to Iona for heavy stones to lay on the graves."

To the Rev. J. A. MacCormick, B.D., of Ardchattan : " 25th August, 1909 : What wonderful memories Iona calls up, and what glorious hopes the sight of the restoration there begun inspires for the future of the Western Isles ! The Church of the Lowlands owes an incalculable debt to these lands and has a long lee-way to make up to their warm-hearted and God-fearing people. I am afraid they are too often thought of as an encumbrance : in reality it is all the other way. I am sure they would respond to real leadership and rejoice in the truly beautiful as no other part of Scotland does. . . . When my sermon appears, it might be well to call attention to it and work out some of its suggestions—e.g., the Cathedral School of Gaelic, and of Psalmody."

To M. W. : " 31st August, 1909 : I had a most interesting and delightful visit to Iona, as to whose treasures the half had not been told me. Every spot in the Island has a story. My sermon was a vindication of the restoration and I sketched a scheme for the *use*, not of the Cathedral only, but of the other buildings. On the Monday a gentleman took me off in his yacht. We sailed round the North of Mull, saw Ardtornish, Fuinary, and Morven, and then went up almost to the top of Loch Etive, which I can well believe the most beautiful of the sea lochs. Ben Cruachan hid his head, but perhaps looked all the vaster."

To Dr. Spratt : " October 12th, 1909 : My class of entrants seems to be somewhat smaller this year, but I was

¹ Published by Request, Glasgow, James Maclehose & Sons, 1909.

very much pleased with the devout and earnest spirit manifested in their whole demeanour, and I do think I am getting the men to take a religious view of their work in the Hall. One reason why I was ready to print the Iona sermon was the emphasis there laid on that. The architect for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in England is circulating it with a special view to the repair and use of the smaller Chapel at Glastonbury.

"Did I convey to you a request from the Community—the House of the Resurrection—at Mirfield, that you would pay them a visit? They asked me to. I can't go now, of course: but you might pay them a visit any time. The more intercourse we have with England the better."

Cooper was anxious that Dr. Sprott should use the leisure of his retirement to put on record something of his experience and of his singular shrewdness and humour of observation. He writes to him:—"8th October, 1909: I do trust you will do for yourself what you did so well for your father. Your Autobiography and experiences would be of immense value for the history of the Church of Scotland, and your recollections of men and women would interest a wide public. Moreover, you are the master of a succinct style which suits a book: I get so diffuse, from the habit of lecturing and preaching, that I can never concentrate my thoughts so as not to be tedious to the reader. "I think something may come of my project for Iona."

A fortnight later Dr. Sprott had passed away, and with him there was lost to us a quite unique knowledge of the religious and ecclesiastical Scotland of the eighteenth century—that, I think, was peculiarly his period. But he was an authority on all that concerns the "Reformed" Churches (i.e., the Presbyterian) on the Continent and in the Colonies, as well as here. Cooper writes to a relative on November 3rd: "Dr. Sprott's sudden death was a great shock and sorrow to me. He has left a vast amount of most interesting memoirs, which I shall probably have to edit, but it will be an important work." The editing was begun and occupied Dr. Cooper's vacation for several summers, but he has left the task unfinished, and so far no one else has taken it up.

Preparations were going on for the Scottish Historical Exhibition which was to be held in Glasgow in 1911 in order to assist the endowment of a Chair of Scottish History. Dr. Cooper was in charge of the portrait section. It cost him great labour, but at the same time provided him with delight-

ful occupation. His diary of 1910 is full of the record of visits to the great Scottish houses—Alloa, Drummond, Eglinton, Glamis, Cortachy, and others—of the kindness and charm of his reception by their owners, and of the generosity with which he was allowed to search their galleries and to borrow their treasures: with what result may be judged from the sumptuous catalogue which commemorates the Exhibition. The very full annotation of some 450 portraits and busts, (he acknowledges gratefully the help which he received from other workers in the History Department of the University), gave him opportunity to shew something of his extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the intimate character of their subjects, and of their relations to the national story: as the quotations from contemporaries which brighten many of the paragraphs evidence the extent of his reading. A catalogue is for the most part a dull affair—but not this.

The development of the Conference with representatives of the United Free Church occupied at this time his chief attention and involved him in enormous correspondence. In the early months of the year he was busied in preparation for the Eighth Conference of the Church Society, at which he read a leading paper on “Catholic Doctrine as set forth in the Ancient Creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland.” His class work continued to give him pleasure and he writes to a friend in praise of his students and their work. The General Assembly of 1910 met under the shadow of King Edward’s death—he notes its depression and the general aspect of mourning. The matter of the Formula and that of the Deceased Wife’s Sister came up in their final stage, and Cooper, abiding by his maxim that nothing ought to be let go by default, supported an amendment of the former, and as to the latter, moved the rejection of the Overture, and on failure recorded his dissent. A propos of this Assembly he has a note: “Dr. Niven told me that it was Dr. W. R. Pirie, (1864) who was the first Moderator to wear lace! This I find confirmed by the portraits of the Moderators: the only apparent exception is that of Dr. Macleod, Morven, (1851), but his likeness must have been taken at a later date.”

In June he was in Edinburgh again for the “wonderful” Missionary Conference, and felt—as he felt of so many things—that it “must help the larger unity”: and from Edinburgh went on to Durham to receive the Degree of

D.C.L. from the University of that City, which he prized all the more that two other Aberdeen men, Professor Cowan and Lord Strathcona, received it with him. His host, Dr. Gee, showed him in the Cathedral Library Wyatt's plans for "restoring the Cathedral to a perfect condition." "He wanted," Dr. Cooper writes, "to remove the Galilee and he did destroy the Chapter-house and chiselled off all the ornaments on the exterior of the East end." He is reminded of "the mason's advice (circ. 1870) as to Dundee Steeple: 'Shair aff sax inches o' her a' roond.' This was done: so we had Wyatts nearer home, and later than at Durham."

Stirred perhaps by the associations of Durham, Dr. Cooper on his return thence "dropped into poetry," and in the Autumn began to work on a small volume of sonnets, (published in the following year)—four on the four Scottish Universities, and one on each of the Scottish Cathedrals. It was for him a new departure, and one cannot claim for it that he found versification his strongest vehicle of expression. The Sonnets are apt rather than inspired, learned rather than spontaneous. "I confess," he writes, "I am somewhat nervous as to what the reviews will say. The notes are probably too long, and I can hardly hope that there are no slips in them. They cost me more trouble than the Sonnets." Cooper sowed beside all waters, and this little collection of poems served his purpose to remind the Church of Scotland that her history did not begin in 1560. Iona was, now that he had seen it, more in his thoughts than ever, and after the Assembly he wrote to Dr. McAdam Muir,¹—"Allow me to thank you, as for your delightful Moderatorship in general, so for your most interesting Closing Address. The 'Seven Jubilees'² give one much to think of, something to be ashamed of, very much to be thankful for. And among our causes of thankfulness surely the restoration of ancient fanes is not the least. How happy you must have been at Iona. . . . Please accept my most heartfelt congratulations and thanks. I hope your sermon will be printed. Iona should be the Cathedral of the Hebrides, but while dedicated in the first place to the meeting of the spiritual needs of the Islands and the raising of the tone of worship and learning there, we must be careful not to fail

¹ The Very Rev. Pearson McAdam Muir, D.D., one of His Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland, Minister of the High Kirk of Glasgow, Moderator of Assembly, 1910.

² 1910 was the 350th anniversary of the first Reformed Assembly.

in making use of it as a power for furthering Missionary enterprise. I was delighted to observe the emphasis you laid on the importance of not letting the impulse given by the wonderful Conference at Edinburgh be lost. Do you think you could start a scheme for a Missionary Lectureship at Iona—the lectures to be delivered by Ministers or Missionaries of all Churches selected by the Trustees with approval of the Assembly, and be given in the course of a week in summer? If I wrote to the *Scotsman* on the general question, would you follow up on some such lines as these?"

In July Dr. Cooper took duty at Kirkconnel and in August at Leuchars, where he met two English Architects who had been "told the other day at St. Andrews that Archbishop Sharp was 'murdered on principle.'"

"September 8th: While passing through the Park to-day I met a Chinese Student of Engineering at the University: he told me he was a Christian, and that about thirty of his fellow-countrymen studying with us are Christians, and that they thought of forming a Christian Union among themselves. I fear they have had but little help from the Church in Scotland, and all summer I have been taking blame to myself as neglecting special opportunities in this respect. I offered the new Society all help, and the student is to call again."

The Royal Commission on the law of divorce was now sitting. In the previous Spring a dignitary of the Church of England, a member of the Commission, had written to Cooper, as "not unnaturally horrified," so Cooper remarks, "at things said by some Scottish witnesses. It is just the old story in a new form: 'Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us'—as if our Lord (and theirs) had never spoken on the subject." He now offered his own evidence: "I think I did some good," he writes, "but there has a terrible new fashion come in of calling CHRIST'S Commandments *ideals*, and sin against them pardonable failure [in] com[-ing] short of ideals. Our Church has been criminally negligent and iniquities have been established by laws which she might quite easily have prevented passing." "I complained of the Act of 1661 (how the Church did not oppose it I cannot think) and of the evasion of the Act of 1600;—of Christ's commands as *law*, not 'ideals,' and of the precarious character of the 'permissions.' Lord Guthrie badgered me a good deal."

The year 1911, memorable as that in which clouds presaging the approaching storm began evidently to darken the sky of international politics, went quietly and happily enough in the "Professor's Court" or Quadrangle at Glasgow. The only hint of those ominous things which were happening in the larger world came to Cooper in his appointment to be Chaplain to the O.T.C., which, thanks to Lord Haldane's great administration of our military affairs, was formed for the University. His commission gave him much pleasure. I remember the twinkle with which he told me of it—"I'm a Colonel"; and he made the most of its opportunity. In a tranquil way it was a much occupied year for him. The Historical Portrait Catalogue had to be finished; there were opening functions and pageants at the Palace of History: there were Royalties and personages to be conducted over its galleries; there was a somewhat important memorandum on the Church of Scotland's law as to fasting to be prepared for the Assembly's Committee on Temperance; there was the Lord's Day Alliance to be revived: "I got this continued. It was like to die, and we need it in the Scotland of to-day": there were frequent articles to be written for the *Dictionary of National Biography*: there was the usual course of lectures to ladies—this year on the Holy Women of History—St. Bridget, St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Catherine of Siena, and others: there were such incidents as the re-dedication of the Chapter House at Luce for use as a place of worship, or the scheme for the restoration of the great Parish Church of Stirling, to claim his interest: there were the affairs of the branches of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society (now three in number) to be pushed—their meetings and excursions, of which he was the life, to be attended. In March he was at Court as representing his Faculty of Theology in presenting an Address as to the Tercentenary of the Authorised Version of Holy Scripture, and again at the Holyrood Levée in July, where he was pained by the scanty attendance of the clergy—"not viewing it as their duty to their King." He went, again to represent his Faculty, to the Dedication of the new Chapel of the Order of the Thistle in St. Giles', Edinburgh, and like others was impressed by the dignity of the Service, and still more by the loveliness of the great Church, cleared of its forest of chairs, and for an hour seen as it was meant to be. In September he was at St. Andrews for the Quincentenary

Celebrations of the University's foundation: "Assembled in robes at S. Salvator's College—long procession to Parish Church: as one of four representatives of the Church of Scotland we had the place of honour in rear of procession and front seat in the Church, the Primus and Bishop Plumb immediately preceding us. The Service only fair—a queer misprint, 'And our mouth shall shew forth *our* praise,' was too accurate. Our Address was followed by one from the Vatican (Mgr. Fraser), and one from the Patriarch of Constantinople—significant and hopeful."

Cooper has an interesting note on the death of Dr. Mackenzie of Kingussie: "To-day the majority of Highland Churches in the Church of Scotland are occupied by his 'boys,' and from the North they have overflowed into the South. No man of his day did more to uplift his countrymen, or to look out Gaelic-speaking lads of parts and train them for the Holy Ministry." Of Dr. Wordsworth's death ("my learned, loved and loving friend") he writes,— "The death of the Bishop of Salisbury is a great sorrow and a great loss to me: I often heard from him, and he used to send me his books. Moreover, that asking me to lecture to his students was a signal honour. I never had a kinder host, and his wife told me he enjoyed my stay so much."

"July 4th: Denmuir. Went to Cupar with Mr. Todd: called at the Manse and on Professor Dall who showed me site of Macduff's Castle: he told me that about two-thirds of the Canadian Presbyterians objected to the proposed amalgamation with Congregationalists and Wesleyans, and that union would mean a smaller Presbyterian Church."

"August 24th: Can folly go further? The *Scotsman* has text of a Bill for Home Rule for Scotland. It would just create more places wherewith to burden the country, and we should be ruled by bigoted and ignorant demagogues."

There is a vigorous note on Mr. Andrew Lang's attitude as a historian—he had lectured at Glasgow that Hallowe'en—"right about Queen Mary, all wrong about the Church." He uses the word "scoffer" and thinks Mr. Lang to have been misled by Presbyterian influences—"he accepts all the lying traditions of the 'godly.'" Mr. Lang's style, and occasionally his facts, did irritate some of his countrymen; and unexpectedly Cooper appears as one of the irritated. Their agreements were probably more than their differences.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR AND OTHER MATTERS

ON January 4th, 1912, Dr. Cooper was married to Margaret Williamson, eldest daughter of the late George Williamson, for many years tenant of the farm of Shempston in the Laich of Moray—a union of unbroken happiness. One of the first public occasions on which Mrs. Cooper assisted him was a reception which they gave to the members and friends of the Scottish Church Society attending its Conference at Edinburgh—the Ninth of those which the Society has held.

Easter holidays were spent at Minehead, where at St. Peter's Chapel on Selsworthy Quay he copied a Sailor's prayer, which is worth preserving:—

Pray God speed us,
Pray God lead us,
From all evil defend us,
Well to fish and well to haul,
What He pleases give us all:
A fine night to land our nets,
And may we do well with all we gets.
Pray God keep us from sand and shoal,
And grant that each may have fair dole,
Pray God hear our prayer.

In the General Assembly of that May, Dr. Cooper was a candidate for the vacant Depute Clerkship, but unsuccessfully. The Committee to Confer with the United Free Church with its main report brought up a Minority Report, signed by Cooper and another member of Committee. Its general tenor was to advise against precedence being given to a method of union, before terms of union in respect to Establishment, Endowments, and Doctrine should have been arranged. Dr. Cooper moved in that sense, but on explanations given withdrew his motion. He supported Professor Hepburn Millar in opposing the Church's taking part in the

appointment of a Presbyterian Chaplain at Oxford, as "an Act unfriendly and un-neighbourly to the Church of England." Dr. Dill's Closing Address delighted him, "might have been called 'The Programme of the Scottish Church Society.' He has proved an admirable Moderator."

During July he again took duty at St. Columba's Chapel, Newtonmore, and gave himself chiefly to work on the memoir of Dr. Sprott. His attention was, however, diverted from that by the appointment of the Parliamentary Committee on the preservation of Ancient Monuments. He communicated with the Chairman, asking that the Ecclesiological Society might be heard as to the structural control of Ancient Churches, and on learning that a representative of it might give evidence, "I resolved to go, and wired Mr. Wilkie accordingly, my main object being to secure the Church's rights to use her ancient sanctuaries and restore her ruined ones where she can make use of them. Mr. MacGregor Chalmers came and helped me to prepare evidence, which I spent the whole day writing out."

"July 7th: London: Got up early and re-wrote my evidence incorporating extra points supplied by Mr. Chalmers." Other witnesses, whose evidence he heard, failed to hint "that Ancient Churches have a religious purpose—possible use, or that the Church as a body had any claim to a say in their disposal. I made that clear and pointed out that recent restorations (e.g., S. Giles' and Dunblane) had promoted religion and were furthering cause of unity. Agreed on benefit of an Advisory Committee, but said it was a *sine qua non* that the Church should be represented on it. The Bishop [of Bristol] explained that it was not meant to check restorations." He writes again, "What I did was worth doing for the sake of the Church and the hope we have of getting many more of our ancient [Churches] restored and used again. Had I not gone, there was a risk that those in Scotland would have been treated simply as ancient monuments with no sort of regard to their religious use." Later in the year the Ecclesiological Society on his motion petitioned in favour of the Bill as amended "with provisos that the restoration of Ancient Churches not now in use be not prohibited on use for them shewn, and that the General Assembly receive in Scotland a similar treatment to that of the Board of Bishops in England."

After an August spent in Jedburgh, where he remarks, in terms too strong for quotation, on the agreement to which

the Presbytery had on the removal of the Parish Church to its present site consented, "that no religious service should ever again be held within its [the Abbey's] walls," Dr. Cooper went to Leyden as representing his University at a Conference on the History of Religion, admiring on his way the Abbey Church of Selby restored after its burning and now "better served and very much better attended—a faultless restoration." He found the tramcars of Rotterdam "near as good as those of Glasgow," and the Scots Church there, built in 1642, "handsome through its spaciousness and fine old pews and pulpit. The Creed and Commandments are set up on its walls. . . . The Church was quite full, mostly of men. There are some Scots, a good many British Sailors attend, and a number of teachers who want to learn English." He was taken "to call on some of the leading Ministers of the party in the Dutch Church who are attempting a too-long delayed improvement in the Service. They should have had a Dr. Lee fifty years ago: as a consequence Romanism increases and draws its adherents from the poorer classes. I don't wonder: the service in the National Church is dreary in the extreme, and about one-third of the clergy are Unitarian, but there are many orthodox too, and Sunday seemed to me to be better observed than in Glasgow. Their hours of service are ten and six: people of fashion dine about five."

"It does not do to take one's information from hotel-keepers: the chief service at Rotterdam on Sundays is at 7 a.m., when the great Church of S. Lawrence will have for its favourite preachers some three thousand of a congregation. There are five Ministers attached to it and they go the round of several Churches, and the crowds follow the popular ones."

"The great Church of Leyden, like that of Rotterdam, is having its whitewash taken off and the wooden mullions of its windows replaced by stone tracery, but there is no improvement in the furnishings, and the effect is only vacuity and desolation. I tried to persuade the intelligent Church Officer that, as he was not less a good protestant still because of the renovations of which he was so proud, he would not be made a papist if the altar were restored. It is that they need."

Returning by Hull Dr. Cooper spent a day or two at the great Reformatory School (Netherton) near Stannington, and very highly approved of it,—“how utterly unlike that

of Holland: hope and brightness everywhere, with strict discipline. Genuine religious tone." Mention should have been made earlier of Dr. Cooper's profound interest in such schools and their work. It dated from his Aberdeen days where Oakbank Industrial School was constantly visited by him. In Glasgow he was a member of the Juvenile Delinquency Board, and was active in superintendence of Mossbank School and of the Kibble School at Paisley, never missing a meeting of their committees that he could possibly attend, and often visiting them. His visits were equally prized by teachers and pupils, especially perhaps by the staffs whom he sustained and encouraged in their difficult work. Wherever he found himself within reach of such an institution in England or abroad, he must visit it, and often went far out of his way for the purpose. He was a Director also of the Industrial School for Girls at Maryhill and Vice-President of the Glasgow Magdalene Institution: and he gave to work for them almost the first claim on his time. He followed up and kept in touch with teachers in these Schools wherever they went. To understand Dr. Cooper, one must know how deeply and lovingly he cared about this quiet work for the City strays.

His diary for that year contains one or two quaint entries. One records what was probably the surprise of his life—an accusation of irreverence. The accuser was a small but devout girl: the reproof took the form of her knocking off the skull-cap which an extreme liability to catarrh compelled him to wear—"Take that for wearing that thing in the Church." Another tells a grim tale of Dr. Gillan of Inchinnan—the authority is Dr. Gillan's son: of how he was "sent for to visit a furious murderer in the condemned cell.—'What the d——l have you come for?' 'To shew you the way to hell.' The murderer was struck, and after sundry visits was led to pray. Dr. Norman Macleod said this was the best thing Dr. Gillan had ever done."

In April of the following year (1913) Dr. Cooper went to London for a Historical Conference. "Paper by a Roman Catholic Bishop on liturgical reforms of Charlemagne—shewed that the ancient Roman order for ordination of priests had no *porrectio instrumentorum* (which was a Gallic ceremony—one of a series), and was little more than a prayer that God would give N. the honour of the office of the Presbyterate." From London he went on with Mrs. Cooper to spend some weeks in Belgium, making Bruges their head-

quarters, and returning in time to preach at the re-opening of the West Church—the Nave of the ancient Church of Stirling—after reparation: “An admirable restoration, simple, restrained, preserving every fine feature, and obtruding nothing. Lovely grey colour of the old stone: ancient oak roof as good as ever. Work a triumph for Dr. Ross.”

Dr. Cooper found the Assembly of that year much to his mind:—“There has not been a better Assembly in my recollection.” The essential feature in the Report of the “Committee to Confer” on the burning question of amalgamation with the United Free Church was its request that it should be instructed to frame the draft of a constitution in view of union, and as all desired to see what would be drafted all concurred in granting the request, and Cooper was able to write, “Both Assemblies unanimous. *Laus Deo.*” As to other matters he notes that he “carried an Overture and two remits.”

In June there was a Conference at Glasgow of Reformatory and Industrial School teachers, in which he took a deeply interested part; and in July he officiated at the dedication of the new Church of St. Kieran, at Auchnacarry on Loch Lochy: “I used Dunkeld Litany, and consecration from Bishop de Bernham, preaching on Christ and Zacchæus. Mr. Crawford offered Gaelic prayer. I celebrated. Forty communicants.” He reflects—“It seems the Highlanders here, descendants of the ‘Highland Host,’ Amorites who shed the blood of the saints like water,¹ fancy that their fathers were Covenanters, suffering from Popish tyranny!”

In the latter part of the month he went to Ilkley as Chaplain to the Scottish University Corps, O.T.C. Of all his duties this was probably the most congenial, or at least the best enjoyed—the contact with youth as he found it in officers and men, the romance of arms and tents and of soldiering in general, appealed to him; and the neighbourhood of Bolton Abbey and of Mirfield, which he again visited, made this Camp specially fascinating to him. At Montrose that summer he had motored past the Aviation Camp which was already established there, and had been astounded to find the Air Service so far developed—the Aeroplane so frequent a sight all along the East Coast that birds had ceased to be alarmed by it—it did not apparently occur to him that such development, like his own delightful Chaplaincy, were things ominous.

¹ Psalm lxi, 2-3.

To Mrs. Cooper: "O.T.C. Camp, Ilkley: This morning I went to Holy Communion in the Parish Church at 8. I was afraid I had mistaken the hour, for as I was going up I met quite a number of men from the English contingents (mostly) coming down, evidently from an early celebration. They had been there at 7: but there were about forty of the town-folk at a second Celebration at 8, along with me. Several of our Officers were amazed to hear that an early Celebration was possible and actual in the Church of Scotland. It would meet with great favour if our Ministers could be persuaded to let our people have it. My text was Psalm cxix, 9: 'Wherewithal shall a young man,' etc. It was closely followed and I have been warmly thanked by Officers and Men. The Army Officer in special charge spoke to me this morning in terms of the highest praise of the intelligence, good conduct and personal dignity of our Scots Students. I have been asked to come back here from Mirfield." And next day, "The Officers were anxious that I should give my full time to the Camp—a sign they are not tired of me. The Camp had been a very happy one, and the young fellows all look so strong and *big*."

The comparative leisure of an August again spent in charge at Newtonmore was occupied mainly upon the memoir of Dr. Sprott, in composing and criticising material towards the draft constitution which was in preparation, and in voluminous correspondence as to its content and terms. The Autumn and Winter of 1913-14 were anxious and busy in the inner circle of Scottish Church life. Also that August, "finished my Iona Book (*Reliques of Ancient Scottish Devotion*)"—an annotated booklet containing the *Communion of the Sick* from the Book of Deer, the *Litany of Dunkeld*, *St. Margaret's Deathbed Prayer*, an *Order for the Consecration of a Burial Ground* from de Bernham, and a *Children's Service for Palm Sunday* from the Rathen Manual: one of a dainty series. The holiday was saddened by the death of Dr. Forrest of West Coates,—“dear and revered: one of my best friends. At a Christian Unity [Meeting] he repelled a cavil (of Dr. Mair's, I think) on the clause in the Creed—‘*He descended into Hell*’—‘We cannot afford to omit so clear a statement of the reality and completeness of our Lord's Death.’”

To Mrs. Cooper: "October 2nd: The discussion [at the Christian Unity Association] was of the people's place in the election of Ministers, and it was amazing to see how every

U.F. (both old U.P. and old F.C.) were down on popular election. They declared that the people had *no* inherent right in the matter, and that it was a question which method gave us the best men! To think of all that their fathers made us—and the cause of CHRIST in Scotland—suffer for those baseless ‘rights’ is humiliating.”

Another ominous sign of the times :—

To the same : “ 20th November, 1913 : At the Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains the feature was Report from Parishes, hitherto obscure, now naval bases with ‘Admirals’ and ‘Flotillas’—at Granton, Grangemouth, Cromarty, Helmsdale, Kirkwall and Oban. It is Scotland that will be the naval successor of Plymouth and Portsmouth, now that the danger is no longer from Spain or France or Holland, but from Prussia. So things change.”

“ August 23rd : Met two notable natives of Newtonmore, —Mr. Ian Macpherson, M.P., and his brother of the Indian Civil Service. This was what our country schools *could* do.”

“ September 10th : New book : *The Marquis of Montrose*, by John Buchan. The author describes the Covenant as ‘the cause of a selfish oligarchy of nobles and a tyrannical Kirk’—the gloomiest of tyrannies. The truth at last.” Cooper would have agreed with a fellow historian who preferred fiction—so far as history was concerned, he knew *that* to be lies.

Winter and Spring, as they followed, brought nothing but the usual : a bustling routine of Classes, Committees, Conferences, Meetings of every sort and constant pulpit engagements. Dr. Cooper’s diary is full of reference to the business of the Draft Constitution—to letters written and consultations held and Committees attended, and has almost as much of pungent comment on the Home Rule crisis in politics ; his opinions on such matters were as decided as in his youth they had been and his dislikes as keen. When the General Assembly met in May, it had again a twofold Report from the “Committee to Confer,” one embodying a series of “Articles Declaratory” on which the majority of the Committee were agreed, the other, to which Cooper was signatory—this time with fifteen more, who like him found the Articles inadequate in respect of their “defectiveness in stating the fundamental faith,” and their “negative attitude towards National Religion.” They desired too that Article I (dealing with doctrine) should be declared unalterable. There was a private meeting of Assembly and next day a full dress debate

in which Cooper took part on one of the issues raised ; with the result that the Minority Report as well as that of the majority was "received" and transmitted to Presbyteries for their consideration. Dr. Nicol's Closing Address he pronounced "excellent : great progress since he attacked the Scottish Church Society at its start. Now he goes in for Apostolic Succession, Evangelistic work on Church lines, and the value of Church Authority."

Dr. Cooper went that Spring to Birmingham for a conference of the Board of Study for preparation of Missionaries, where he found "the very Quakers looking forward to a Catholic reunion," and then to Ireland to address the clergy of the Diocese of Down. He took for his subject, *Historic Aspects of the Reunion Question* : "the Bishop in the Chair—some seventy clergymen present, among them the Dean of Belfast, Canon Frizelle, and Mr. Kerr, a very learned man, who had got up the subject. I got a most splendid reception and was asked to print my paper, which I agreed to do, the Bishop to write a prefatory note. They 'mean business' in the way of a union with the Presbyterians. The Bishop told me that the late Bishop of Salisbury was the guide of the Reunion Committee."

On his return he visited Lismore and found his description of it in his sonnet on its "tiny Cathedral, *garden enclosed, green isle* amply justified." The Church, he says, is "entire as to its walls, but has been abominably restored,—the very buttresses 'harled'! and the furniture inside coarse and ugly—turned the wrong way. But the Sedilia are curious and entire : there is an untouched piscina : a roundheaded door on South side and a pointed one on North. Also a great many Celtic-patterned stones in the Churchyard, and the 'Stone of Judgment' and the 'Stone of Refuge.'"

The War Office had intended that this year the O.T.C. (Scottish Contingents) should be served by a "regular" Chaplain, but on remonstrance from the Corps itself Cooper had been reappointed to the duty, and in July he went with it to Stobs. Part of the time between Sundays he spent at Warkworth, and writes enthusiastically of Warkworth Castle and Hermitage, and of Alnwick and Bamborough, though of the latter "restoration has destroyed its fascination. The Chapel alone remains in ruins—no need for one now-a-days. Though at Warkworth [there] were two, and a third contemplated."

For August he was due to take the duty at Fraserburgh, and had indeed entered upon it with all cheerfulness—and then, suddenly, the War. All diaries of that time are probably much the same—consternation, suspense, rumour, alarm, appeal to the Judge of all the Earth :—I find, Cooper writing on one page (he is thinking of Ulster then) “ Save us, O Lord, from our wilfulness and selfishness ” ; and, almost on the next, “ Scatter Thou, O God, the people that delight in War ” ;—and then the beginning of sorrows, bereavements, miseries. Cooper wrote at once to know if his O.T.C. lads needed him, and learned that from the nature of their service they would go, not as a Corps, but one by one as they were commissioned, but that four hundred of his University Company had offered themselves within the first two days. He was invited to take up Chaplain’s work among Territorials, and put himself at the disposal of the Authorities as soon as the College Session should end. A man of sixty-eight or over could offer nothing more active. As for the combatant enlistment of clergy he condemned it, perhaps too severely. All wars are not alike. We do not blame the French clergy, who supplied no conscientious objectors, but marched with the rest as they were called up : and it is difficult to blame those of our own who were as strongly compelled, yet without law—who like Gavin Pagan (as I heard him tell his remonstrant seniors) could not rest till they had put their own bodies between the German bayonets and the women and children of France. I do not think that Christ’s cause in Scotland suffered by them. Cooper himself, like others of his years, could only carry on at home. He remained at Fraserburgh for his term of duty, working at his projected memoir of Dr. Sprott, and doing what he could for those who were leaving to serve and for their families ; and went on to Skelmorlie for the next month. He planned and set about a small Text Book, *Soldiers of the Bible*, for the Guild Library, which, when it appeared a little later, was well received.

The miserable monotony of those war years is recalled to memory as one works through a personal record of them, such as Dr. Cooper has left. Month follows crowded month, and each is like the rest ; one might say that life had become a hushed suspense ; or one might say that it had become a toil, too strained to allow of much reflection. The old things had to be done, and a multiplicity of new duties and responsibilities and cares had to find room where each day had

been already busy enough. The things that mattered did not happen here ; here, we waited and listened and worked each in his own way, small or great, for our men far away. Our own lives seemed without incident, unless as *they* came and went, lived or died. We had not much to say about ourselves. All of us wrote plentifully, but most of our letters went abroad. Cooper in that was probably like others ; at all events hardly any correspondence of his is for these years available, unless as to those disputable topics of the local fusion of Churches, into which it is not proposed to enter ; and even these topics were, as we shall see, soon removed from present consideration. Of his two most intimate and constant correspondents of former days, one, Dr. Sprott, was dead, and the other was now his wife. His diaries for 1914-1916 contain little but a congested record of engagements ; all those which had been usual to him, with the addition of daily services of intercession, war-service committees and meetings ; notes as to bereavements and sorrows and condolences ; echoes of war incidents and of strange reports and of whispered rumours ; horrified and angry comments on the last atrocity or frightfulness. Of seven of his own nearest relatives who were serving all but one had suffered death or wounds. The neutrality of the Papacy irritated him.—“ The Pope’s ‘ Prayer for Peace ’ to be said ‘ from the pulpit ’ in St. Peter’s to-morrow. It is an appeal for peace without one suggestion of righteousness being a needful way to it : though it asks the grace of *meekness* for rulers. Not so Hildebrand ! ”

One letter of 1915 will bear quotation.—To a lady in Ireland, who had sent him a poem on “ All Souls’ Eve,” he writes : “ 11th June : Among the many things that the war is teaching us is a deeper understanding of the Article in the Creed, ‘ He descended into Hell ’ : it was St. Peter, who for so many years knew of the martyrdom in front of him, who gave us the Scripture sanction for this blessed assurance that CHRIST Himself found activities of mercy between His Death and Resurrection. . . . I have since my earliest days had the pleasure of counting many Scottish Roman Catholics among my dearest friends, and I never thought of them as other than excellent Christians—who hold all the fundamentals of the Faith, though they have unhappily added novelties to the original deposit. On the other hand, I have long feared that the critical and philosophical extravagances of Germany were sapping the authority, alike of Scripture,

of the Church, and of Christ; now the result is palpable, and I hope all our British Churches will take the lesson."

In March he took part in a Conference of the Church Society at Edinburgh on *Religious Work among our Sailors and Soldiers*. It was little more than an impromptu meeting with some of our number who were doing Chaplaincy work—we others were there to listen rather than to discuss.

His Easter holiday was spent in the Welsh Marches and the Shrewsbury district, specially interesting to him as "the cradle of the Royal Stewarts": but with Ludlow, Much Wenlock, Uriconium, Oswestry, Pedmore, Stokesay, and much else as well to attract him. He calls this "a delightful, instructive and invigorating visit"—at which no one who knows that charming region will wonder.

The General Assembly of 1915 met, but with curtailed ceremony. The disposition to avoid controversial discussion was universal. "No levée on account of the War. Sermon, St. Giles', 12. Dr. Nicol preached on Malachi iii—a very fine and spiritual sermon. . . . Mr. Maclean Watt's account of the request made to him (for Holy Communion) by two Scottish soldiers who were going into the firing line next day: how he consented, and over one hundred came." The "Committee to Confer" had, as directed, transmitted to Presbyteries the majority and minority reports on the Articles declaratory of the Church's constitution, but few Presbyteries had considered them, and of such as sent reply most replied only to deprecate their being dealt with under the pressure of the nation's agony. The word *Moratorium* had become familiar in its financial application, and it was borrowed for the occasion to describe the common consent that the negotiations and preparatory steps towards union of Churches must meantime stand over. The sweetening and rationalising influences of the time shewed themselves in the discussion on "Aids to Devotion"—in the discussion perhaps, rather than in the Assembly's Deliverance, which was on conventional lines: and Cooper welcomed the manifestation as more significant than it has proved to be: "a great revolution in our Church worship carried through without a dissenting voice (including shortened Form for Holy Communion). The November Commission had asked for a Form for 3rd January, but more now approved. Unprecedented since Revolution Settlement, 1690."

The whole of the Autumn was spent again in Badenoch, at Newtonmore and then at Kingussie. Dr. Cooper had

undertaken to deliver the Croall Lectures in the following year, and, by request, had chosen for subject the *Catholic Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* : the memoir of Dr. Sprott seems to have been laid aside, and reading for this new subject occupied all his leisure. The Spey Valley was now old ground to him, and he does not on this visit find much that is fresh, unless such a tag to the well-known legend of Gaiack as he relates : " The popular story here is that ' the Black Captain ' was in league with Satan, because dressing his moor with sand he improved the grazing : ' he sowed sand ' said the natives, ' and grass grew.' May this explain St. Machar's miracle of sowing sand and reaping corn ? What is the black art with the godless is a miracle in the saints."

In August the conference of the Board of Studies for Preparation of Missionaries took him south again, this time to Cambridge, which was new to him. He was quartered in Queens' College, where he dined in hall and no doubt made himself as delightful as at other hospitable tables, for his final note of the visit is that " the Students saw me off at the Station, giving me the heartiest Godspeed. I have greatly enjoyed them and my whole visit." But he had also heard excellent and suggestive lecturing and had met interesting people, including a Servian Professor Popovitch, whose name, he observes, means " Macpherson " (Parson's son) ; had seen King's College Chapel and the Backs ; had eaten mulberries from Erasmus' tree, and took back with him to Newtonmore a basketful from Sydney Sussex of that un-Scottish fruit to be stewed for dinner, " a treat to us all : the last that I had were at Venice 1870."

" Glasgow, November 8th : Barbara, our cook, who had heard that the King of Spain was interesting himself through his Ambassador in Berlin in our ' missing,' wrote to His Majesty asking him to enquire about a cousin of hers, and had a letter to-day from his Secretary, promising enquiries."

" December 7th : At Class to-day and lecturing on St. Columba, I said it appeared that his Gaelic was not understood by the Picts, and asked my Gaelic-speaking students if they and the Welsh could understand each other. ' No, Sir,' replied one : ' Yes,' said another ; then added, ' I once had a Welsh sweetheart.' "

The bitter meaning of war was brought more sharply home to him, as to many of us, in that dreary Spring and Summer of 1916, first by suspense as to the fate of a very dear friend of his on board of the missing ship *Appam*, and then by the

death, one in battle, the other in hospital, of two young and most promising cousins to whom he was deeply attached, and not less perhaps, as one after another of his students, past or present, was named in those terrible lists of the fallen and wounded; for by this time the O.T.C. lads had done their training and were gone to the front; and letters of condolence, sometimes three or four in a day, had to be added to other War duties. He refers again and again to University Services in the Bute Hall and to eminent preachers to whom he listened there—though presently the practice of inviting strangers had to be abandoned, except for one Sunday in each month, the Theological Professors making themselves responsible for the rest, and meeting the responsibility (Cooper notes) most competently. Meantime there were such people to be heard there as the Dean of St. Paul's, who 'reminded all teachers that a new class of *educated* people is springing up, strangers to three inestimable traditions—those of Greek thought, Roman order, and Palestinian religion': people begin to see the fatal injury done by popular fallacies and fads in education"; or there is Mr. R. J. Campbell, full of fire, "thoroughly and passionately orthodox—I congratulated him on his joining the Church of England and said I would not have gone to hear him otherwise. He seemed surprised": or there is Dr. Orchard, less known then than now, to be met at dinner, whose views "in many ways" commend themselves. He is less approving of some nearer neighbours—of one, for example, whose prayer at a funeral "was a biography of the deceased, telling even that he was a Volunteer. He might have added that he was the first to 'join' in 1859." Such prayers Dr. Cooper describes as a scandal. Or it is that Reports to the Presbytery disclose that "Church Discipline in Glasgow is almost a thing of the past. . . . It is like us, that: when things decay or get abused to abolish instead of reforming." The state of Education on its religious side continues to give him anxiety, as it still does to many. At the Spring meeting of Synod at Ayr—"Spoke out on the call on the Church to look after religious education of the young more earnestly, and suggested that the U.F. Church and ours should unite in demanding from Parliament an hour daily in the Public Schools for Religious Teaching by qualified teachers. The time is favourable, while men see the collapse of morality in Germany." He remembered—comparatively few now remember—what the "atmosphere" of the old parochial

Schools used to be ; what that was is illustrated by a letter which he has preserved—it is from a much respected Minister and friend who wrote to him à propos of the Church's Commission on the Spiritual Issues of the War ; “ I sometimes wonder whether disestablishment itself would have more seriously damaged the religious life of Scotland than Lord Young's Act of 1872 has done. My father was a parochial schoolmaster, and I look back with gratitude to the religious instruction of my youth—a considerable portion of every forenoon—five days in the week—devoted to thorough instruction in the Bible and Shorter Catechism, and every *Saturday* in school from 9 to 12-30 there was examination of the week's work in Religious Knowledge, and in addition the repetition of large portions of the Psalms and Paraphrases. . . . In truth I owe more to my training in Bible knowledge in the school of long ago than I owe to all the teaching in the Divinity Hall.”

Dr. Cooper was not unconscious of the Church's obligation to the teaching profession of his own time who did so much, under the handicap of codes time-tables and payment by results in every other subject, to maintain as much as they could of “ use and wont.”—I have heard him speak with warm appreciation of their effort to do so ; but, if he did not use terms so sweeping as those of Dr. Inge in the Bute Hall, he was nevertheless profoundly unhappy as to the results of the system under which teachers worked ; and it may be recognised that, like Dr. Inge, he was a shrewd observer and no means a fanatic ; that he knew Scotland and its life better than most ; that in his professional work he had the opportunity to discover with what equipment of religious and scriptural knowledge his students came to him, and that his general inclinations were to a sanguine and not to a gloomy outlook. But as to this matter his verdict was not, at the time of which I write, encouraging. He thought the Church to be in this matter unjustifiably supine.

Early in May Dr. Cooper was due at Trinity College, Dublin—he does not say for what service. On the arrival of news of the armed outbreak there, he wrote to the Provost offering to fulfil his engagement and “ congratulating the O.T.C. on its spirited and successful defence of the Bank of Ireland,” but as soon as delayed posts allowed, he learned that he was excused, “ as was to be expected. Sackville Street is burning and our troops have sustained very considerable loss.”

The General Assembly met that year with restriction of its customary incidents as marked as had been the case in 1915, and with an atmosphere of even more sombre gravity. The *Moratorium* declared as to matters of controversy was maintained. The distinctive feature in the Assembly's proceedings was its reception of an Overture from the Presbytery of Edinburgh couched in terms of unusual solemnity, on *The Call of God to the Nation*.—"Forasmuch as recent events and the present distress make it evident that God is calling the Earth and is pleading with His people: and forasmuch as it is the office of the Church to endeavour the interpretation to its own members and to the world of those things which the Lord is speaking from Heaven, and to call its members to repentance and prayer and the world to humble itself and seek after God," and in view of the urgency which would arise, if war were over, "lest for all these things we repent not to give God glory," therefore the Assembly was asked to appoint a Commission through which the Church might "in the Name of God call the Nation with penitence faith and hope to hear and obey the Word of the Lord Who has mercy upon us." The Commission was appointed, Cooper one of its number, and for the next two years he gave it his best service—less than he could have wished to give, had not a new, and for the time absorbing, responsibility been presently laid on him. Towards the close of the Assembly's sessions he received intimation that the group of past Moderators desired his consent to be nominated for the Chair of the ensuing Assembly of 1917, and on consideration he accepted nomination, "because the Church has made it clear it wants me"; elsewhere, he says, that he saw it as a chance "to say some things and to do others." It was certainly as opportunity that the office presented itself to his mind. "I went to Service at St. Giles' to ask God's grace and help for the work before me."

From the Assembly Dr. Cooper went direct to Invergordon. Both Forth and Cromarty Firth were empty of their garrison of war-ships—"they are all out in the North Sea, whence news is anxiously expected." Next day the news of Jutland came in its first and grimmest version; and three days later "telegrams came from London asking for information as to the manner of *Lord Kitchener's* drowning with his staff, *en route* for Russia, but we had no information to give. Coming as it did after Saturday's alarm the sad news almost stunned us."

July was spent in charge of Leuchars. Seen across the Eden firth, St. Andrews suggested itself to Dr. Cooper as "a nice place to retire to (when I can no longer teach)." It is the first hint he gives of any sense of gathering years and of a possible limit to activity. South Court, Dr. Rodger's old home, particularly attracted him and he had some thought of securing it, but it was commandeered by the War Office and the idea of its purchase was abandoned. Next he is at Oxford where he had been asked to act for a week as Chaplain to the Summer School of Missionary Studies: and thence for August to take the duty at St. Margaret's, Broughty Ferry. He speaks of a soldier whom he met in the course of pastoral work there—"who has served his time in the Black Watch and was in the great fight of July 25th. He spoke of the bravery of the Scots Chaplains, but complained that they never got Holy Communion, as he thought they should, and as Roman Catholics did." And next to London, where among other things he spent a night at a Reformatory near Hertford, for which he has warm praise. At that time he was concerned to obtain in such institutions proper care in the matter of the lads' Baptism, and notes repeatedly of each School that he visited, there or at Dundee or elsewhere, his enquiries on the subject and his advice. Then again the Assembly's Commission on the War Issues was organising a National Mission of Re-dedication, and that work took him here and there.

In November his nomination to the Moderatorship was, as is customary, intimated, and was warmly welcomed. The next morning's post brought him one hundred and fourteen letters of congratulation. Newspaper notices were flattering and were not confined to Scottish journals. One or two Presbyteries (which is scarcely usual) sent felicitations.

The year ended with his delivering his Croall Lectures on the Catholic and Scriptural Doctrine of the Holy Trinity in the Moray Aisle of St. Giles', Edinburgh. He was satisfied with the attendances at these, and with their reception. His treatment of the subject was textual and historical rather than philosophical—he was no philosopher—and in that aspect were exhaustive and valuable. Unfortunately the excessive occupations of the next years and his subsequent ill-health prevented him from preparing them for publication.

CHAPTER XIV

MODERATORSHIP

MODERATORSHIP involves more than a little preparatory work, and Dr. Cooper's time during the Spring of 1917 was much occupied with that. There was his Closing Charge to be composed, and there were other addresses which could not be left to the spur of the moment, to be considered. Food restriction had become severe and the usual hospitalities could be planned only on a limited scale—it was even doubtful whether they might be attempted at all. The traditional breakfasts had been abandoned, and some substitute had to be devised. There were precedents to be studied, procedure to be learnt, ceremonial to be arranged. And there were presentations, for example from St. Nicholas', of which he had been incumbent, from his present and from his former students, and one especially which he felt to be "overwhelming" in its kindness by the Lord Provost of Glasgow on behalf of citizens. In February he went to "a certain place" as the new township at Gretna was for some time denominated, for the religious "opening" of a residence for Deaconesses, Parish Sisters and their helpers in work for the four thousand girls there. He notes "a sad contrast between our chapel and the Scots Episcopal one"—but has hopes of its improvement; and he took the opportunity to visit the graves of Fair Helen of Kirkconnel and Adam Fleming, the lover whose life she saved: "He took service with Ferdinand and Isabella and planted the Christian flag on the Alhambra—returning home, he was buried beside Fair Helen."

In March there was a Congress at Glasgow in preparation for the National Mission which was being arranged; Cooper was not impressed by its proceedings: "Tea at the Town-house was more concerned with 'the Union' than [with] the Mission, and a public meeting in St. Andrew's Halls was a failure alike in numbers and in speeches. No

call to penitence": and of the day following, "Evening Meeting in City Hall. The speeches to-night were at least religious, but not of much power: and the effect of the meeting has rather been to demonstrate the need of a re-awakening and revival than to help to the obtaining these." Later in the same month he was suddenly called to go to London with a deputation to Downing Street in support of the State purchase of the liquor traffic. "I agreed [to go] as believing (1) that nothing less would be just to 'the Trade': (2) that it would give the Government immediate and effective control over the public-houses; and (3) enable it to turn these into suitable clubs for the working-men who have no parlour." Mr. Lloyd George's personality impressed him—"his adroitness, wit, persuasiveness and charm, wonderful." Presently he had to be in Aberdeen to attend the Synod and to address a Conference on "The War and the Sin of the World." It was not the Kaiser only, he told his audience, who never mentioned the name of Christ. Our own Statesmen also came short in this, as did the President of the United States. He was told that there is no more religious country than America; it was strange that its eloquent ruler should never have so much as mentioned [Him] Who is the Supreme Teacher of Humanity, Who alone can make men free indeed. The local journal headed its report of this address, "Plain Speaking." For the earlier days of May he went to Ardchattan on Loch Etive—for "rest *and* work," he says, taking the Parish duty and finishing his preparations for the Assembly.

For that he went to Edinburgh on May 21st. The War was now entering on its fiercest stage and its hazards were every day more acutely realised. That year Holyrood remained closed, the Lord High Commissioner—the Duke of Montrose—making his headquarters in an Hotel. Their house in Royal Terrace was put at Dr. Cooper's disposal by the family of his old friend, Dr. Milligan, and his receptions were held in a Hall in George Street. He had for guest during the Assembly, Dr. Paget, Bishop of Stepney,¹ a deeply interested observer of the proceedings: he wrote afterwards of having been "filled with respect, affection and reverence for the great Church over which Dr. Cooper presided."

The Moderator has duties which are both onerous and delicate. Besides his daily routine of presiding in the Assembly, he has at its opening and close, on behalf of the Church,

¹ Now Bishop of Chester.

to address Royalty in the person of the Commissioner—partly in terms of carefully observed precedent, but also as the circumstances of the time suggest and as it seems to him that these should be represented to the Crown—safeguarding the Church's rights and liberties without by any implication infringing those of the Crown, but respecting always the tacit concordat which regulates their relation. Then he has to deliver a Closing Charge in which custom allows him to state at length his own view of the Church's position and to offer his counsel as to its course. He is, besides, the mouthpiece of the Assembly in addressing delegations and representatives from without who may have audience, and agents or servants of the Church who are presented to the Assembly; there are institutions which during the sittings of Assembly he may usefully visit and functions at which his presence will be desired: and in his discretion he exercises a large hospitality. The office then is evidently one which gives room for the exercise both of intellectual power and of spiritual force, as well as of such minor qualities as eloquence, prudence, tact, graciousness and assiduity. The Moderatorship of 1917 did not come short in any of these things: men of great distinction have occupied the position—it certainly lost nothing of its prestige in Dr. Cooper's tenure of it. The office suited him and he suited it. He enjoyed its ceremonial and entered happily into its variety of demand with a courtly dignity and with a certain stateliness of manner and diction which revealed themselves as eminently appropriate. At the same time there was nothing in his manner of the pompous or stilted: he rather endeared himself to the Assembly by his confidential attitude to it and by a pleasant homeliness which flavoured his *obiter dicta*, by a tendency to reminiscence, and by an occasional affectionate personality, as when he referred to a young professor as "my first student." He was singularly happy in those minor allocutions which he had to improvise, and sent away the various groups of Missionaries, Deaconesses, Sisters, and others, cheered and grateful. On the Foreign Missionaries he solemnly and formally pronounced the Apostolic benediction: and such things touched hearts. He was no less happy in the devotions in which day by day he led the Assembly: these were afterwards collected and printed. He says that he was not enamoured of the publication: but that he was urged to it by many.

The Assembly over which Dr. Cooper presided was not otherwise memorable, unless for its departure from the *Moratorium* in the matter of the local reunion. Objection was taken to this step when it appeared in the report of the "Committee to Confer," on the grounds that the circumstances which had led to suspense of proceedings were unaltered, and that Presbyteries had not meantime proceeded with that examination of the Articles Declaratory to which at the previous stage they had been invited: but authority was given to the Committee to proceed to revision. As Cooper was in the Chair, it was not open to him to express approval or disapproval of this step. The Assembly was brightened by addresses from the Primus on Religious Education, from the Bishop of Stepney, who spoke of work among London Jews, and from Father Velimirovitch, who spoke of the degeneracy of German Protestantism, and of the way to union through the sacrifice of pride in one's own Church. There was a conjoint meeting of the two Assemblies in connection with the National Re-dedication Mission, at which Cooper was annoyed to hear the object of the Mission described as the "renewal" of Covenant: the phrase he thought smacked too much of 1643, of whose proceedings he by no means desired the renewal—he had once publicly described its Covenant as "that dreadful compact."

Breakfasts being banned by the Food Control, the Church Society met that year unrefreshed in St. Cuthbert's Hall. The Moderator was on the platform, but left the duty of report to his joint Secretary. There was the presentation to him of a copy of the Holy Scriptures and of an early edition of the Standards of the Church. The president, Mr. Leishman, reminded us how Dr. Cooper had read himself into his Chair at Glasgow by reciting the Nicene Creed, how his Principal (Sir Donald MacAllister) had compared him to Bunyan's Mr. Valiant-for-the-Truth, and for himself he likened him to Rutherford—"always preaching, always praying, always visiting," and applied to him William III's words as to Carstares: "I have known him long, I have known him well, and I have always known him to be an honest man."

"May 30th, 1917: Close of General Assembly. My Address took me one hour and thirty-three minutes to read: it was closely followed and remarkably well received. In my reply to the Lord High Commissioner I said quite plainly that we hoped and expected that when the War is over

all the old honours would be done to the Assembly."

The Address was more than well received. It is a fine piece of work, learned and scholarly and cogent, and entirely frank: if it was bold, it rendered reason as it went. It was secure in its basis of historical facts; the time had come for drawing their conclusion. It provoked no controversy and it elicited at least a wide, if not by any means a universal, consent. There were possibly some who thought it over stringent, and too reproachful that the Church did not make more of its "heritage":¹ but Dr. Cooper did in his soul judge us to be somewhat slack and unfaithful to our opportunity, and so judging he could do no less in his responsibility than say so. Reading the Charge again, I am impressed by its temperance of expression, its comprehensiveness and its force of argument, and I admire its form. Dr. Cooper could write very carelessly, as some quotations from his journals included in these pages evidence: but he could also write as finely as a classic author of the eighteenth century, and few use a better balanced period than he had at command. His vindication of the dogmatic Catholicity of the Church of Scotland and of its doctrine of Orders and Sacraments is weighty, and those who have followed his statement and who are competent to estimate it will be the less disposed to "lichtlie" our positions in these matters. Some of its paragraphs were highly germane to the various questions then in agitation—as when he reminded the Assembly that if the Church of Scotland claimed to be of the Catholic Church, it thereby owned the subordination as well as asserted the rights "which that high and blessed privilege involves"; it is then, as Bishop Gore has said of his own communion, only a portion of a larger whole which embraces and controls it. He quotes the Confession of Faith as to Christ's gift "to this Catholic visible church" of "the Ministry, Oracles and Ordinances of God," and went on: "Three things, in the Church Catholic, it is here affirmed are of Divine appointment, and therefore by man unalterable"—namely Scripture and the once-delivered Faith—the Sacraments—and the Holy Ministry; and again in vindication of the practice of Presbyterial ordination, he quoted at length Dr. John Wordsworth, "more learned on this subject than Bishop Gore, and quite as good a Churchman," and went on "Why may not the Church of Scotland

¹ The title of the Address as published was *Our Sacred Heritage*: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh.

in the Twentieth Century ordain her Ministers as the Church of Rome—that Church so highly praised (circa A.D. 110) by St. Ignatius—did in the Second, and the learned Church of Alexandria till well on in the Third? ” “ We can well defend the validity of our orders. It is for each Presbyter among us to lay to heart the injunction of St. Paul to Timothy—*Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee—with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. . . . Make full proof of thy ministry*: and to see that he bears manifest upon him the marks of his apostolic lineage in gravity, sincerity and unselfishness of his life; in a holy and unblameable behaviour; in the *labour and travail* wherewith he preaches the *Gospel of God*; in pastoral faithfulness: in the care and reverence wherewith he ministers the Holy Sacraments.” Or again—“ We must be careful not to dislodge in ignorance old customs that are more truly Catholic than those we seek to introduce. We must avoid innovations that will hardly go with our sober usages. Still less dare we venture to bring in practices wholly unknown to the *Churches of God*.” He named two of the *old paths* to which he thought the Church of Scotland should forthwith revert, namely, “ the Apostolic Diaconate, and the no less Apostolic laying on of hands in confirmation of the baptismal gift and vow. We are, I believe, the only National Church in the world—Reformed or other—which has laid aside Confirmation, and we are the poorer for the want of it. Then our system of ‘ Probationers ’ was never good in theory. I do not know any warrant it has in Scripture.” He vindicated our hierarchy of Church Courts—which indeed are now more or less successfully reproduced elsewhere: and spoke of our Eldership as the form of lay representation in the government of the Church, “ perhaps the best to be found anywhere.” He warned the Church of the danger of Nationalism in religion: “ If on the one hand the Church in any nation learns to deem itself a separate tree and not a branch simply of the Vine which was planted in Judæa and has sent out its boughs into all lands; if it makes the genius of the nation to whom it is sent its master, rather than Christ; and is more anxious to be Roman or German or English or Scottish than to be Christian: if again it takes its stand more on some acknowledgment by the State or inclination of the people than on the revealed will of the LORD JESUS; or if on the other hand it exalts its national peculiarities into the rank of Divine laws, insists on their

acceptance by the whole world and makes them a ground of separation from fellow Christians in other lands—then and in so far that Church sins against a very purpose for which the Catholic Church was founded, that, namely, of being a common Spiritual home and training place for all the nations, wherein they might find a higher unity in the worship, the service and the fellowship of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.” The latter part of the address was given to a protest against schism and a plea for something wider and nobler than denominational unions ; vindicating the Scottish Episcopal Church as also Scottish and as “ steadily advancing to positions hitherto our own ”—while pleading also that it was “ no longer possible to confine our views to Scotland.” Pointing to the consolidation of the Empire, which fellowship in war had promoted, he asked : “ Shall the Church, the Divine Kingdom, for whom unity is an essential law, lag behind the State ? ” ; and went on to present at least a hope of something greater than even a united Church of the Empire. “ Say not such things are dreams. They are so many responses of loving and believing hearts, Spirit-taught, to the express desire and promise of Him to whom *all authority hath been given in Heaven and in Earth*, Who yet, in the same breath wherewith He declares His purpose, repudiates any attempt to put force or even pressure on the wills of His disciples. He will not drive, He will not bribe, He will not so much as bring His sheep : *them also I must lead* (such is His gracious word) and *they shall hear My voice and there shall be one flock, one Shepherd. . . . Let us search and try our ways and turn again to the Lord. Let us light the candle and sweep the house* clear of the dust of neglect, and search for the *piece of money*—the human souls stamped with God’s image—which in our days of slackness we *have lost*. So by God’s blessing we shall find it, and call together our friends and neighbours to rejoice with us. It is in penitence that true joy has its beginning. And true penitence is a diligent reformer.” An Anglican dignitary described the Address as a real and great contribution to the work and unity of the Church, and the commendation does not seem exaggerated.

One has heard of the American tourist who after a regulation week at Rome said that he now knew the meaning of “ seven days’ hard.” At the close of the Assembly Dr. Cooper saw before him a year of strenuous toil. In those days an ex-Moderator still had things very much at his own

taking, and might for himself map out his activities—but this ex-Moderator had ideas: there were “things to be said and some things to be done.” If more is now exacted during what has come to be called the “year of office,” that is at least in part the result of his energetic saying and doing between that date and the following May. In his Address he had said that while the office conferred no power, it seemed every year to bring an augmented influence. Constitutionally there is a Moderator only for the Sittings of the Assembly, and afterwards a “Moderator of last General Assembly,” but in practice the tendency grows to regard him as “Moderator of the Church,” in spite of a quite recent refusal of the Assembly (1921) to sanction that style. Few things are more interesting to a student of the first centuries of the Church than to watch the extra-constitutional development of something closely resembling a prelacy in the Church of Scotland, all the more that it is contemporaneous with the tendency in the Church of England to revert from prelacy to a “constitutional Episcopate.” If Cooper’s example did anything to further this development, that was on his part unconscious—he was aware only of things to be said and of some things to be done, and into these he at once plunged. Immediately on his return to Glasgow he put himself in evidence in his new capacity by a reception in the Bute Hall of the University:—“About 840 came, and the party was a great success, giving pleasure to rich and poor and [promoting] that social intercourse which is so necessary to Christian fellowship and good feeling.”

“May 14th: Letter from the Dean of Belfast inviting me to preach on Christian Unity in Belfast Cathedral: the Bishop not simply approving, but desiring I should do so. I accept.”

“May 31st: Letter from Archbishop of Armagh, inviting me to visit him at the Palace and see ‘the cradle of Celtic Christianity’: most kind.”

At Belfast Dr. and Mrs. Cooper were the guests of Sir William Crawford at Mount Randal. Dr. Cooper visited and addressed the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church then in session, and thence went on to Dublin to stay with Dr. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, and to preach the University Sermon in the College Chapel; and next for the day to Armagh on the invitation of the Primate and Mrs. Crozier. “Smoked a cigarette with a second Archbishop, the first being [with] the Greek Archbishop of

Smyrna." It was Cooper's little joke (he abhorred tobacco) that he smoked only with Archbishops. He returned to Belfast for the Cathedral Sermon and to preach for Dr. Irwin, the Irish Moderator. On his return journey he found an unexpected welcome back to Scotland awaiting him:—"We were received at an At Home by the Provost and Magistrates of Stranraer and the clergy of the town: a unique function, I imagine, and a sign of the pleasanter relations established by our mere effort towards union." From Stranraer to Ardwell, and from that to Glasgow for various duties: and next to Edinburgh for a celebration in St. Cuthbert's, and to visit Whitekirk, restored after its sacrilegious burning—"so admirably"; back to Glasgow for the Ecclesiological Society and on to Arbroath for a dedication: then to Aberdeen and to preach at Marnoch and Aberchirder: to Keith and Elgin, and to Inverness for Sunday duty and various meetings; and into Caithness, crossing for the first time the Ord, to Berriedale where he held service and saw its curious series of strongholds—the subterranean "Picts house," the Viking Brochs, the Mediæval Castle, superseded now by the Duke of Portland's Mansion; so to Latheron to advise on Church restoration, and to Wick for a strenuous Sunday, and to Thurso, where he was entertained by the Provost to a public lunch in honour of the Church of Scotland—"a happy change of public feeling in regard to her"—north of the Great Glen there has been since 1843 a certain lack of enthusiasm for the Residuary Establishment. Then from Thurso to Dornoch where service was held in the Cathedral "immensely improved, but the chancel still desolate." At Invergordon, on the way south, "a civilian who had been doing some work on the warships came into our compartment and told us 'they had got' at Rosyth the man guilty of exploding the *Vanguard*—he had access to the ships as an expert in Mariners' Compasses"; and so to Old Deer and to Aberdeen for duty at Cults and Mannofield. He notes in his diary for that Monday, "Needed to rest a good while"—which is credible. He had still to go round by Edinburgh for a function there, and returned to Glasgow after as busy a month as a man of his age need desire. It is detailed here as a fair specimen of his activity during that year in the intervals between his heavier engagements. During that year he zigzagged over Scotland in every direction and made repeated incursions into England, from which he had received various invitations

in the interests of unity. The National Mission of Re-dedication claimed a good deal of his time. He initiated the practice of visits to Synods and of conference with them. He shewed particular interest in the Gaelic-speaking districts. He visited the Grand Fleet and went to several training camps north and south of the Border. The "Committee to Confer" was again active, and its revisal of the *Articles Declaratory* involved him in frequent visits to Edinburgh and in anxious correspondence. Interwoven with all this was a multiplicity of dedications, "Special Services" and the like, filling every Sunday and many week days. In the end of July he was at Kenmore, where the Episcopal Rector held his service at 10 a.m. to allow all to go to the Parish Church and "hear the Moderator," and came himself to read one of the lessons. In the evening the clergy of the neighbouring parishes gathered to Evening Service, and all supped at the U.F. Manse—"a day of note and happy promise," Cooper writes. The following Saturday, August 4th, was the anniversary of the Declaration of War with Germany, and he preached in Glasgow Cathedral, feeling, he says, the absurdity that the Nave of that great Church should not be utilised, "but obstacles of all sorts are alleged and it seems almost vain to hope for it." The same evening he went to Lochranza in Arran for the Sunday's work, and the same week to North Uist: "I preached and celebrated in English: the "Second Table" was in Gaelic: "the church was *full* from 12-4: possibly thirty Communicants"; then to Lochmaddy in South Uist, and then to Elgin. Ten days later he was in Ulster, at the great Convalescent Camp, Randalstown, spending a Sunday there. On his way back he notes a visit to the Reformatory at Stranraer—it should be said that through that crowded year Dr. Cooper seems to have been oftener than ever at Mossbank and the other schools of that class, and to have discovered such schools to be visited where his other duties took him. In the beginning of September he was back at Gretna to lay the foundation stone of St. Andrew's Church for the new township. He complains of being prevented from taking part in an ordination in which he was interested—"But the Presbytery of ——— insisted it should be on a Sunday. An innovation and a bad one: but they are so infatuated with desire to have a crowd present." The following Sunday he was at Balquhiddy to officiate at the replacing in the Parish Church of its ancient font and of the Stone of St. Angus, its

first missionary, which for ages had lain in front of the altar in the older Parish Church or its ruin, covering, as is likely, the Saint's grave : now, for better preservation removed to shelter.

A more serious undertaking—for by mid-September winter had almost begun in the Orkneys—but one of intense interest, was a visit to the Grand Fleet in its invisibly but very wonderfully fortified lair in Scapa Flow. He was accompanied by Dr. McClymont, the head of the Church's Chaplaincy organisation, and by Dr. Fisher of St. Cuthbert's, who is at home in these islands. They received from the authorities every consideration and facility. There was a visit to the Fleet and dinner at the Headquarters' Mess at Longhope, in the manse of Walls ; and a Special Service and a meeting with Chaplains were arranged on board of *H.M.S. Emperor of India*. There was time too to see the restoration of St. Magnus' Cathedral at Kirkwall, already far advanced, and to make the round of some at least of the nearer Parishes. On the way back Dr. Cooper held service at Thurso ; spoke at a U.F. reception given at Inverness to Dr. McKichan, their Moderator : and had Service again at Inverkeithing for the men of the Cruiser Fleet at Rosyth : and Service again in an Edinburgh Church in the evening !

After one day at home (and a visit to Mossbank Reformatory) Dr. Cooper went to Elgin to receive the freedom of his native city. Hardly any other incident of that year gave him so much pleasure. He loved Elgin—no other corner of earth smiled for him so pleasantly ; and Elgin had grown to be very proud of him. The honour was one rarely given—the previous occasion had been fourteen years before, when his cousin, Sir George Cooper, had been enrolled a citizen—and rarely indeed to an ecclesiastic. Dr. Cooper's ancestor, the Rev. Mr. Stuart of Lhanbryd, made freeman and Guild Brother in 1727, may have been the latest till then. Elgin made much of the occasion ; there was a crowded meeting in the Town Hall, excellent speeches, a noble casket of oak from the beams of Pluscarden Abbey, and a Municipal luncheon ; and Dr. and Mrs. Cooper gave a return reception a few days later, and on the Sunday he took Service in the two Parish Churches of the City.

From Elgin it is a long way to Kelso, where the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale was to meet a day or two later and to receive the Moderator in Conference. Later in the same week the Session of the Divinity Hall at Glasgow began,

and the duties of his Chair called him back. In the depleted state of the Hall, most students being on service, arrangements had been made with the Professors of the United Free Church College which lightened his work and gave him more time for the Church's demands. Still he seems to have lectured some days in most weeks. The rededication of St. Mary's Parish Church at Whitekirk, now rebuilt, followed; and then a round of northern parishes, Keith, Aberlour, Knockando and Aberdeen—Cooper always drifted to the North unless he was definitely anchored to some other part.

"St. Margaret's Day : Dryburgh Abbey is for sale : wrote a letter to the *Scotsman* and *Glasgow Herald* urging its acquisition for the nation."

The year ended with visits to Killin, Alloa, Fraserburgh, and other places, and with a visit to Aberdeen. The new year found him busy with the Murtle Lecture, which (not having enough to do otherwise) he had again undertaken. The first Sunday of January was appointed by the King for National "Prayer, Intercession and Thanksgiving," and Cooper had to give the Sermon at the State Service in St. Giles', Edinburgh; and in the middle of the month to proceed to Ripon where there were many Scots troops, to confer with the Chaplains in the City Hall there, and thence to the Deanery, Norwich, and to Camps at Beccles and Cromer to conduct Services with the men.

On his return he was again in Aberdeen, where some conferences between groups of Presbyterians and Episcopalians were then going on. He has referred to these Conferences and has given a Memorandum in which they resulted in his *Reunion—A Voice from Scotland*, where it can be found.

In connection with the Second of these Memoranda he writes to Provost Hill a few months later :—

"20th January, 1919 : I have been giving a good deal of thought to the question of the Presbyterate.

"(1) There can be no question that the Church of Scotland, since the Reformation as before it, intended to make men *Presbyters* in the fullest sense of the office as set forth in Holy Scripture.

"(2) If she said little in regard to their function of *offering* the Eucharist, she always asserted that 'we do it unto God,' and never permitted men whom she did not acknowledge to be Presbyters to celebrate. The absence of expressly sacrificial language is the Scottish parallel to the English dropping of the *porrectio instrumentorum* and of

the use of the word *Altar* in the Prayer Book. A wrong theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, dishonouring to the completeness of our *Saviour's* one offering on the Cross, had to be rooted out of both Churches.

"But we have all along used in the Eucharistic Service such Psalms as the 26th, the 43rd, the 116th and the 118th. The four last verses of the 118th was the traditional 'gathering psalm' on Communion Sundays.

"(3) I doubt whether the Anglican formularies contain anything stronger on the sacerdotal character of the Presbyterate than occurs in our Form of Church Government—in regard, e.g., to Absolution and Benediction: while the prophecy of Isaiah lxvi, 'I will take some of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord,' is expressly declared to be fulfilled in the Christian Ministry, and justly so, and the Prophet speaks of *men* (not of the *Sons of Aaron*), nay, *Gentiles*, being so taken.

"(4) The witness of our *Authorised Hymn Books* shews that this doctrine, so far from being obsolete, is asserted both by us and by the U.F. Church to the present day and this officially.

"(5) I imagine that on both sides of the Tweed there have been many who disclaimed all this as 'Sacerdotalism': but Milton, who saw Presbyterianism in its full blossom, testified that the 'New Presbyter was but old priest writ large.'

"I would like to hear how this discussion proceeds."

The National Mission took him next to Galloway, where he visited Urr and Dalbeattie, and, as he returned, Dumfries, going thence direct to London, where he had been asked to give the first of a series of Lectures on "Religion" at King's College. He took for subject, "Re-union: a precedent from the history of Scotland." There were dinners at the Mansion House and at Lambeth Palace. He lectured in the Chapter-House, St. Paul's, to the St. Paul's Archæological Society, on Elgin Cathedral. Next to Hursley Park, his cousin Sir George Cooper's house in Hants, then a military hospital, and with Dr. McClymont to Deal and Sandwich to address soldiers at each of these centres, and then to Norwich again to spend a Sunday in Services with the Scots regiments there and for Conference on Reunion, and to hear the praise of Scottish Chaplains by Archdeacon Westcott; thence to Beccles and the Lovat Scouts, and to London and home. In the end of February he was at St. Andrews to give a University Sermon in St. Salvator's Chapel, and went

on to Dingwall and Tain for a heavy series of National Mission services and meetings, taking Forteviot and a dedication there as he returned.

“ Saturday, March 2nd : Telegram from Edinburgh, fixing my visit to France, 5th to 9th April. What may have happened ere then, who knows ? ”

“ February 6th : Telegraphed to the Archbishop of Upsala my consent, D.V., to deliver Olaus Petri Lecture at Upsala on September 8th.”

The next weeks were filled by duties in different parts of the country, which need not be detailed ; with another visit to Aberdeen for Provost Hill's Conference ; and with correspondence as to revised forms of the *Articles Declaratory*,—for the meetings of Assembly began to loom ahead, and a decision as to these was imperative. On March 22nd, that something which Cooper had foreseen “ might happen ” before the date for his visit to the front did happen : the great German offensive began and progressed : on the 26th there was a telegram from the War Office to say that all visits to France were for the present cancelled. Dr. Cooper sent to the press a Call to Prayer addressed to the people of Scotland, and signed by him as Moderator :—“ *What meanest thou, O Sleeper ? Arise and call upon thy God. Let every Minister open his Church to-night . . . and every morning and evening while the fight continues. Let them be thronged with worshippers crying mightily to God to save, defend and preserve us through Him who at this season died upon the Cross for our redemption.* ” It was Holy Week, and Cooper notes that this was the fortieth such week in which he had officiated “ unbrokenly ” : from Palm Sunday to Easter of this current year he preached nine times in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Hamilton. A few days later he went up to Winchester to visit Canon Hepher, and addressed a meeting of the clergy, including the Dean, two Archdeacons and others, in the Canon's house. Their favourable reception of what he had to tell them cheered him, he says, for the more formidable task of speaking to a large meeting in St. Faith's Chapel, St. Paul's, the Bishop of London in the chair. His subject this time was “ Possibilities of closer relations between the Church of England and the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland.” His address created a most favourable impression and he was asked to print it. On the following Sunday he was invited to occupy a stall at St. Paul's at Morning Service, and preached in the Guards' Chapel to

the Scots Guards. From London he travelled direct to Forres and addressed the Synod of Moray meeting there, and returned to Glasgow only to leave next day for Edinburgh, and then for Lochinver in Assynt on the West coast of Ross, for the dedication of a Holy Table on the Saturday and to preach and celebrate on the Sunday : " a full church, but only twelve communicants." It was stated later on the floor of the General Assembly, and therefore must be true, that in Assynt he had succeeded in getting the congregation not only to repeat the Lord's Prayer but to stand with him and recite the Apostles' Creed. So much for his persuasiveness. The following week he was again in London for the meeting of the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church, and for that of the Synod of the Scottish Church in England : and also addressed the Church Society then lately formed in England to advocate principles similar to those of the Scottish Church Society : and besides called at Brompton Oratory on one of the Fathers there—" a cousin of Cousin Kate's cousin "—not even his mother could have counted kindred further removed than that. On Ascension Day he met " sixty or more " of the South London clergy, the Bishop of Southwark in the chair, in the Chapter House of Southwark Cathedral and redelivered his St. Paul's paper on " Possibilities " ; and on the Sunday evening spoke on the general subject to a large congregation in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

" Glasgow, Sunday, May 12th : For the first time in my life I stayed at home in the forenoon to write a sermon—for Dryburgh."

The occasion was a gathering on the following Tuesday within the walls of that lovely ruin for its formal transference to the custody of the Crown. Dr. Cooper celebrated in the morning on the site of the high altar : he records the remark of one of his chaplains who assisted him—" It is a long time since the Angels saw that Service there." At a later hour Lord Glenconner, the donor, announced his magnificent gift : on behalf of the State the Duke of Atholl accepted it. Divine Service followed, the Bishop of Edinburgh and Dr. McKichan, Moderator of the United Free Church Assembly officiating, and Dr. Cooper preaching the sermon. " It was a lovely day : there was a large attendance : and things went well." In his speech accepting the custody the Duke had referred to the gift of Melrose to the Nation by the Duke of Buccleuch, and had intimated his own intention to do the

like with Dunkeld Cathedral. Cooper's letter to the *Scotsman* as to Dryburgh had borne much fruit. On Pentecost he offered in St. Bride's Church, Partick, two silver chalices, in memory of his own and of his wife's mother, and in gratitude for the ministrations there, but also "in devout thankfulness to God for the health and strength He has graciously vouchsafed to me during the twelve months of my Moderatorship of the General Assembly."

The last important function at which he found himself as Moderator taking precedence of all nobility was the presentation of the freedom of Glasgow to General Smuts—"enormous audience—wonderful speeches." In the following week the Assembly of 1918 met and he demitted his office. His last duty was to preach "the Assembly Sermon" in St. Giles' and finally to preside at the opening of the Assembly, give an account of his stewardship, and nominate his successor. In doing so he dwelt as ever on Reunion matters and told of his preaching of these in Belfast Cathedral, and said that in Ireland union of Episcopalians and Presbyterians was "an obvious necessity." He described England as aflame from one end to another with a passion for reunion, so that since January he had had to speak there eight times on the subject. "Nor (so far as I have heard) has a tongue wagged against an innovation which before the War would have been denounced in severe terms. English Churchmen are all deeply interested in the present effort of our Scottish Churches. They are trying to heal their own divisions; but they are looking very specially to us: and I should not be surprised if, in the course of the next few years, we shall have a deputation from the Church of England inviting us to join with her in offering to our Blessed Lord a united Church for His service throughout a united Empire. The Scottish Episcopal Church will not fail us in that day: she will help to hasten it. But it is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes."

In the course of the Assembly the Committee to Confer with the United Free Church brought up on report the *Articles Declaratory*, modified in the direction of the requirements of the Minority Report. As modified (his objections had been principally to the first Article, which he had thought doctrinally inadequate) Dr. Cooper found himself able to accept them and withdrew his opposition. He did not speak on that report, but in the following Assembly he said that he was quite clear in giving them his enthusiastic

support : and after the Spring of 1918 his attitude was that of a convinced advocate of the proposed coalescence. At one time he had dreaded a merely Presbyterian Union : presumably, lest such a union should have the effect of superseding a wider. I have no knowledge which would enable me to speak of his reasons for a change of view—in this matter he judged and acted very much alone : but the position had itself changed since he wrote of it in 1907 ;¹ the question of the wider union had, largely owing to his own labours, become one of practical politics ; it might eventually be decided adversely to his counsel, but it was no longer in danger of being ignored. He had probably come to think that till the matter of the narrower union was out of the way, that of the wider would be postponed to it, and that its arrangement would clear the course for that approximation which was always his hope and desire. The measure of union presently in discussion he thought, if it could be secured on right terms, to be in itself desirable ; and he had been accustomed to say of it : “ We cannot oppose union.” The idea of union—almost the name—was in itself sacred to him.²

To the Rev. J. A. McCormick, Ardchattan : “ 19th June, 1918 : I have found all my life that the providences which most distressed me at the time were really helpful to the fulfilment of the ends which I most ardently desired. Here, for example, our union with the U.F.’s, so far from hindering the progress of Catholic worship and doctrine and a reunion with the Anglicans, is positively opening new doors for effort in both these directions, and the desires I have tried all my life to fan into a flame among a few are kindling in quarters where I never expected to see them. It is *God* Who will build up the walls of Jerusalem, not we : I have

¹ See page 246.

² “ Why did Dr. Cooper appear reluctant at first to support the cause of Presbyterian reunion in Scotland ? For two reasons. One was, lest by a reunion which should not include the Episcopal Church, not to say the Free Church, the realisation of the principle of nationalism should be unduly postponed, or even frustrated ; and the other reason was, lest in the new united Church of Scotland the differences between Scottish and Catholic Christianity should be accentuated in the course of years. But he was apparently reassured on both grounds by the terms of the final draft of the ‘ Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland,’ in which the subject of the national recognition of the Church appeared to receive unambiguous statement, and in which also there was included a doctrinal affirmation bearing ‘ the very hall-marks of Catholic orthodoxy.’ The Church of Scotland, if truly National and Catholic, would be able, he thought, to enter into those wider unions for which he fervently hoped and prayed, and which he trusted would prelude the promised day of the ‘ one flock, one Shepherd.’ ”

(Prof. Wm. Fulton, *Aberdeen University Review*, March, 1923).



DRAWING ROOM, COLLEGE QUADRANGLE (No. 8) GLASGOW

often noted that delighted confession of David's in Psalm li (a sure note to me that David wrote that Psalm) but I am seeing it fulfilled in the Britain of to-day—in Ireland and England as well as in Scotland. I *did* have a wonderful year as Moderator—one, I am tempted to think may prove epoch-making. But things were ready to my hand. '*Non nobis, Domine, sed Tibi gloria.*'"

Dr. Cooper had an Overture, originating with himself, in the Presbytery of Glasgow, which asked that the Assembly should recommend the formation of local Committees on War Memorials in Churches in order to avoid their being flooded with trivial and unsuitable memorials, and for an Advisory Committee of Assembly to co-operate. He was successful in obtaining this, and was appointed its Convener.

Immediately after his release from Assembly duties he writes to Canon Drury: "I had an envelope addressed to you a fortnight since, before we left for the General Assembly, and it was only yesterday that I got back from Edinburgh. But June can never come round without recalling Ireland and the honours and joys which crowded our visit to the Green Isle. . . . We have had a very satisfactory Assembly. The Duke of Atholl was a most genial and popular Commissioner, and Dr. Ogilvie made an excellent Moderator, while his closing Address dealt in a statesmanlike fashion with Foreign, especially Indian, Missions. The cause of Reunion has undoubtedly gained and is gaining, but at this moment we must say but little of the wider union. . . . The good seed will only germinate the more strongly among all who desire either union, and quiet preparation will be the order of the day. It made an excellent impression in Scotland that Dr. Irwin had been asked to preach in Belfast Cathedral. . . . I begin to feel the need of rest, for my year has been 'full up' to the last moment. So we are going down on Thursday to Ardchattan (on Loch Etive) for a fortnight or so; thence to Fraserburgh on the Aberdeenshire coast for July and to Newtonmore for August. At all these places I take Sunday duty, but I don't find that a burden, and I shall not have much else to do. But I have a formal lecture on Reunion to give at Cambridge in July, and a lecture on the Church of Scotland to give to the University of Upsala on 8th September: I have never been in Sweden, and my visit this time should be the more interesting as I am to be the guest of the Archbishop. . . . My English experiences were very striking and delightful."

CHAPTER XV

TO AND FROM UPSALA

THE programme for the summer, thus sketched, was duly carried out. Ardchattan in the first place—Cooper loved it for its beauty and historical association and for the welcome with which the incumbent, a former student and a dear friend, always met his offers of assistance. Marvellously tough and resilient as he was, the past year had left him exhausted, as he now realised ; and a good deal of that visit was spent in bed. He speaks of “ the fatigue of two years seeming to come upon him at once—sheer fatigue,” and as the summer wore on it became evident that his health was shaken : as matter of fact it had been seriously undermined. His engagement to go to Sweden in autumn gave him concern ; before long he began to doubt whether he could fulfil it : there were international obstacles ! He might go and give lectures, but he must avoid Conferences—far as the topic of any conference which he was likely to attend lay from political questions, “ conference at Stockholm ” was a phrase to be at that time avoided ; and much more his strength failed him. Upsala was most considerate, yet pressing ; and Cooper was eager to go. In the end his physician interposed a definite veto, and the lectures were postponed.

The work of the War Memorials Committee was initiated and went on well and usefully—in our Churches at least we have few “ regrettable ” memorials and many that are excellent—but it entailed a wide correspondence. A good deal of time went in study of Sweden and of its Church and history, a study which was by-and-bye to prove useful. He wrote to the press, commending the proposal for the restoration of St. John’s Parish Church of Perth (St. Johnstoun), and deprecating some semi-humorous suggestion of rivalry with the Episcopal Cathedral there—“ every friend of reunion should avoid like poison the mere ‘ appearance ’ of a gibe.”

After a quiet month at Fraserburgh he went to Cambridge to deliver a lecture "to an immense concourse" in the Theatre of the Examination Rooms. He was guest with Archdeacon Cunningham at Trinity College; heard "Canon Masterman's lecture—first rate—on Unity of the Nations: there must be a conference of the Churches, becoming perhaps a standing one and meeting at Jerusalem"; and Dr. Cunningham on Religion in America; and so "after a remarkable and delightful visit" returned north, this time to Newtonmore, arriving without luggage and to encounter a housekeeping reduced to depend upon a gift of rabbits; but on the other hand to be cheered by finding that the idea of restoring St. John's Perth, had taken root and "had made a good start," and by hearing from a friend in the Church of England that his London addresses "had made an extraordinary impression." He records a conversation with a new acquaintance, also from the South, who vexed him with the exposition of British-Israelite theories based on the prophecies of Ezekiel: "amazing that such absurd interpretations can find credence among educated people—neglect of the ecclesiastical side of historical teaching and of any intelligible doctrine of the Catholic nature of the Church":—*per contra*, "they have sent us game." At Old Deer, to which he had gone for some function, he was shewn "the last verses ever written by Sir Walter [Scott]: intended for a Russian Countess. After, they were given to Major Baillie of Dochfour. They bear painful traces of failing powers, and out of reverence for the Author have not been published." In spite of food control it is still possible to exercise a modest hospitality, and once at least he dines out—but, (O tempora!)"—"a sheep's head, but skinned, not singed—another good old Scotch dish out of existence."

With September he was back in Glasgow and in the home life, to which for all his restless and incessant wandering he was always thankful to return. Things were not going well in Glasgow: "September 25th: *Glasgow Herald* says 'Anarchy.' Presbytery meeting—I moved that 'the Presbytery, humiliated and distressed by the state of matters on the Clyde, send a deputation to meet the workmen and employers, hear what they have to say, endeavour to bring them to a truer sense of duty.'" "As others remained silent, I withdrew, feeling that we had missed a great opportunity and neglected a public duty." In his

Synod, however, he carried an Overture asking the General Assembly to appoint a Committee to watch over the interests of the native Christians of Palestine, now delivered, and for the protection of the sacred sites. In October a volume of his Addresses was published with the title *Reunion—a Voice from Scotland*—"the paper (he says) is necessarily poor, but the matter will be new to many readers both north and south of the Tweed. God prosper it." About this time he experienced two new sensations, both pleasant: one that of receiving a profit from publication—he had been well used to the converse, the payment of printers' bills: but a little later than this he notes the receipt of a cheque for sales of his Moderatorial Address: "£3 11s. 3d.—about the first money I ever received for a publication. The sales still go on": and I remember him telling me gleefully of another and larger product—I think from his first London address, that at King's College. The other novelty was the discovery of Auction Bridge—"a great improvement"; he still loved a game of cards, seldom as he had leisure for it.

In October he was co-opted as a member of Glasgow School Board, but as it was on the point of giving place to the new "Authority," that did not add much to his labours, already sufficient. Such spare hours as were available seem to have gone largely to the writing of letters, lengthy and forcible, to the press (he excelled in such letters) and to persons of influence, as to the risk of Palestine and the Lebanon being included in a "new Arab State," as to the restoration of the Church of St. Sophia to Christian use, or as to the demand for the trial and execution of the Kaiser—a demand which he condemned as both unwise and unchristian.

"December 7th: Edinburgh: Ecclesiological Society. Mr. P. MacGregor Chalmers exhibited a picture of 'Dunfermline Abbey Church restored.' This should be made a reality: it would be (1) a central church for the chief Naval Base in the North, (2) a superb piece of Scottish architecture, and (3) a fine memorial of the Kings of Scots from Malcolm Canmore to Charles II."

"I spent a profitable hour on Thursday among the ruins of Elgin Cathedral. What a lovely Church it must have been! There are many larger, but I doubt if any in Britain were more beautiful. Its day of restoration will come. Elgin is wonderfully rich: in one day it could raise £166,000

for the War Funds—the visit of the tank effecting the miracle.”

The Spring of 1919 saw him again actively prosecuting what he considered to be his life-mission. His bodily strength was restored and invitations to speak on his favourite topic had accumulated. In March he visited various Southern parishes, taking part in the National Mission of Re-dedication, and then he crossed again to Ireland and lectured on the *Scottish Reformation*: thence to Carlisle where the late Dean, Dr. Rashdall, shewed him the Cathedral and Deanery—“thought Atterbury his greatest predecessor and a bigger man than Paley!”—and so to Chester, to be entertained at the Residence by Archdeacon Paige-Cox, and to address a meeting in the Freemasons’ Hall. “Saw Matthew Henry’s Chapel: he voted with the Non-subscribers—his Chapel is now a Unitarian place of worship.” From Chester he went on to Boddington, to be the guest of his life-long friend (since College days), Dr. Creighton, and to preach in the Parish Church there. His sermon was fully reported and astonishes one by its fire and power. He seems to have found a new note in preaching: his sonorous periods have given place to a simple directness which is pungent and impressive. He spoke of one flock, one Shepherd, and of the fold. The oneness of the flock was, he said, an instinct: the unity of the fold was in its walls. The unity of each, if it existed, could equally be seen. They could see whether the walls of the fold were broken. They could see whether the flock was united or in different droves. What if the various sections of the flock, heedless of the Shepherd, were running in each others’ faces, crossing each others’ paths, butting one another, biting one another, continually getting into situations provocative of mutual distrust and quarrel? Was this what Christ meant? Was such a Church likely to attract men to Christ? He spoke of the League of Nations—“an attempt to supply what we should have had already with far higher sanction and far more sufficient grace, had the Church remained as at the first in international communion.” “We broke the Church’s international unity in the eleventh century by the rent between East and West—the product of bitterness on one side and of arrogant ambition on the other. Then came the breaches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when for unity was substituted uniformity, and for Christ’s leading were substituted all sorts of cruel drivings—by Romanist,

by Lutheran, by Anglican, by Puritan—so that no single party in the whole West but fell into the snare of using violence in the day of its prosperity.” Now we saw better—we saw the guilt of following other leaders than Christ. And so on. Dr. Cooper had “great liberty” that evening. From Boddington he went to Northampton and then to Newcastle, meeting at each place gatherings of the Clergy and of Nonconformist Ministers and delivering his message. The Church of England “by far the most august of the Communions in the Empire, should take the initiative in giving to the whole Empire a united Church.”

“Glasgow, April 11th: Glad to be home, for my tour, though most enjoyable and I believe really helping to make history, has proved rather exacting.” Nevertheless the next day was Palm Sunday, and he had to preach at Larkhall (National Mission) and through Holy Week at Hillhead, St. Margaret’s, Kilbirnie, to the boys of the *Empress* Training Ship at Helensburgh, and to women at Row, in Glasgow Cathedral and at Oatlands, on Good Friday at St. Bride’s and at Garturk, on Holy Saturday at St. Kenneth’s, on Easter at Oatlands and in St. Bride’s. A fair week’s work: “the forty-first Holy Week on which by God’s mercy I have been enabled to officiate every day.”

“April 30th: Remarkable letter from Army Chaplains, calling on the Churches to come together some way: signed by Dr. Simms (Irish Presbyterian), Chaplain General, and my correspondent, Bishop Gwynne. So the movement hastens. *Laus Deo.*”

“May 8th: His Majesty the King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has conferred on me the Order of S. Sava (Fourth Class)—doubtless on the recommendation of Father Velimirovitch. I wrote acknowledging so gracious an act.”

“May 9th: Worked all day at my sermon, not making much progress, in spite, or perhaps because of, the wealth and grandeur of the subject. But I am finding the ten hours lecturing a week pretty hard on me.” For the usual long vacation was not now possible—“special privilege” students (ex-service) had to be provided for, and a Summer session had followed hard on the heels of the English tour and of Holy Week here. It *was* pretty hard on him; but to wear out is perhaps better than to rust out. There was no time that year for his usual close attendance on the General Assembly sittings; he came and went between Glasgow and Edinburgh as his other duties allowed him.

" May 27th : To Edinburgh—1-30. Arrived while Dr. Wallace Williamson was finishing his speech in support of the Deliverance on Union. There were several amendments—fatal all of them to the Union—which were loudly cheered, but at the vote only movers and seconders supported them—most unfair. I spoke in support of the Deliverance, being clear that it is safe, though some of my friends doubt it. We were practically unanimous."

May 28th : Gave my classes a holiday and stayed over last night in Edinburgh to be present at morning meeting of General Assembly, when the Archbishop of Canterbury was invited to address the Assembly. He spoke in support of the League of Nations. His coming was important."

" May 30th : *Scotsman* tells of an address by Sir Douglas Haig in favour of union between Church of Scotland and Church of England, 'leading to an Imperial Union,' good as far as it goes and likely to be powerful. But the Person to be listened to and obeyed is Christ."

Cooper's Report on War Memorials was approved, and he carried his Overture regarding St. Sophia's.

To the Rev. E. G. Selwyn : " Glasgow, 4th June, 1919 : Many thanks for your most kind and deeply interesting letter. To some of the points raised in it the two packets of prints sent to you may furnish reply. To the others I may say briefly that no one knows what are the grave doctrinal differences that would bar a union of the two National Churches—especially if the new 'creed' were that of the Lambeth Conference Quadrilateral: the acceptance of the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds would leave liberties of considerable latitude alike to Puseyite and Puritan. As a matter of fact the 'working Creed' of the two Churches at present is substantially the same, and 'Higher' Church doctrine is more widely spread in both probably than it has been since the Reformation. The movement was slower in the U.F. Church than with us, but it has caught there also and is spreading in a way that surprises even my 'optimism.' Sir Douglas Haig is a new and powerful recruit to those of us who insist that the next step forward must be towards a settlement with the Episcopal Churches, and this policy will find favour with both the uniting parties. The Union, besides removing obstacles, will create desires and reveal the defects of the Presbyterian system. Meanwhile our claim should help your Enabling

Bill. Scotland is not easily baulked of what it has set its heart on in things ecclesiastical."

To the Rev. J. A. McCormick, Ardchattan. "25th June. I should like to have a talk with you on the ecclesiastical situation. The union, I am clear, must go through: and I am confident it can do so with safety alike to the Faith and Order of the Church, and to the Establishment and Endowments. When they are once *in*, the U.F. people will be strong upholders of these things. The union will bring trials, and sectarian ways will not be cured in a day. But it will end one grave scandal: it will cut the roots of sectarianism: it [will] give a free field for more Catholic usages, which are rapidly coming in among the U.F. clergy here: it will give us a number of excellent men; and it will remove the obstacles, as well as predispose us all to the wider union that can alone reunite high and low in Scotland, and give CHRIST a United Church for the marvellous Empire HE has given to our race. *That* will be a body able to speak even to the Pope, and take a proper part in the union of all believers. Let us go on in faith. Why should we fear dangers in doing HIS will?"

"June 5th: Rev. Mr. Sutherland's funeral.—From his beautiful Church. A great improvement (which I have long advocated) was introduced: instead of characterising the dead in a prayer, a short address—taken by Professor Reid, and done well—was delivered after the Scripture lesson. I took the Committal Prayer at the grave."

"June 10th: Highlanders' Memorial Church—Committee in regard to reredos, shields, etc. I obtained that a shield of the Four Wounds should be put up in honour of the All-atoning Sacrifice, in front of the pulpit." The Convener of the said Committee writes "to bear witness to the deep and enlightened interest which Dr. Cooper took in Scottish heraldry." His knowledge of the Vulgate made him a singularly good adviser in the selection of mottoes for armorial achievements. Those shields of the clan bearings for the Memorial church gave him concern that they should be accurate—"We have too much bad heraldry in Glasgow, and good heraldry is of real value, as preaching *noblesse oblige*."

In the end of July Dr. Cooper went to Iona to conduct a retreat there—at the request of a group of the younger Glasgow clergy. The house belonging there to the Cowley Fathers with its chapel for their devotions, was put at their

disposal by the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, and the Cathedral-Abbey Church by its Trustees for celebrations. After his return one of the retreatants writes to him :

“ I have got settled down again to ‘ the daily round, the common task,’ but I am conscious of a new sense of vocation in the work as the result of our days of quiet in the Holy Isle. It is all a joyous memory, but in retrospect I think what impressed me most were our celebrations in the Abbey Church. And I shall always remember you as our Priest and Father-in-God, ministering at the Altar in those gracious morning hours when the peace of summer lapped vale and sea. We could not express to you all that we feel that we owed to you for your presence with us, your words of wisdom and your frank and unreserved comradeship. We just feel that it was good for us to be there. Other two days would have been a help, as the men were just getting accustomed to the beneficial restraints of our programme when we had to leave. But I am sure they will all wish to renew the experience. In any case, Iona marks a new beginning. The Church, I am more than ever convinced, is the hope of the world, simply because it is more than a human institution. And the world will give heed, when with holy boldness we once again emphasise and proclaim the means of grace by which power is still mediated to the needy children of men.”

From Iona Dr. Cooper went to Largo, where he was to be in charge for July and August, and was in time to conduct the Peace Thanksgiving Service there. He notes that at Glasgow Cathedral the corresponding Service was held, not in the Choir, but in the Nave, which enabled two thousand persons to attend it, and that the sermon was well heard by all. The Ecclesiological Society visited Largo that summer, and he had the pleasure of entertaining the party in the beautiful old Manse garden, and of shewing it the ancient, if severely adapted church, and the tombs of the two famous admirals, Sir Andrew Wood of James III's time, and Sir Philip Calderwood Durham of George III's : and also the spot where “ Lauderdale in 1650 did penance and was absolved, Minister and Kirk session declaring that they were ‘ well satisfied ’ with his repentance !! ” For Lauderdale had been entangled in the Engagement.


For the rest, his War Memorial Committee kept him a good deal occupied, and he was now, besides, a member of the Ancient Monuments' Board for Scotland, in succession

to Sir Schomberg McDonnell. There was correspondence too about the Aberdeen Memoranda, in the second of which some thought that the question of the functions of the Presbyterate had been "somewhat lightly touched." But especially he was busy with his Olaus Petri lectures for Upsala. The Swedish expedition was at last definitely fixed for September: and a Royal command to Crathie for a Sunday in that month was in consequence impossible of obedience. It is easy to be wise after the event and to see now that Dr. Cooper should not at his age and at that season of the year have undertaken this Stockholm engagement and all that it involved of voyage, exertion and excitement, and that he should still less have insisted on going alone, without the wise supervision and restraint which is advisable for men of his eager temperament, and in his case was very easily available. He was worn out before he started, and much more when he returned. Few of us have ever done so much in six years as he had done in the two years from May, 1917, to May, 1919—travelled so much, spoken so much, written so much and preached so often, or lived so deep in a whirl of society and business, or been consumed by a similar zeal for the Household of God. It is improbable that he could in any case have lived out many more years at the same pace and under the same strain; but certainly this visit to Scandinavia exhausted his remaining resources and decided the question of his possible longevity. One may not say that it *shortened* his life—for he lived those last years so fully that he missed nothing which a few years more of comparative emptiness could have given him; it is not life merely to live. He enjoyed every hour of activity, and when he could not be active he was miserable—always with something in him of "the boy who would not grow up," reaching almost greedily to the next thing that offered—but that offered, not pleasure, but service. I cannot find it in my heart to grudge him that self-spending.

The following extracts are from Dr. Cooper's diary-letters to Mrs. Cooper:—

"Goteborg, August 31st, 1919: We had a fair passage—the only excitement being that we saw floating quietly past what I rightly divined to be a German mine: the Mate said there was no doubt of it, and that it was as well it did not strike us! The sail down the Tyne was a wonderful sight—a demonstration of the greatness of Britain's ship-

building, more impressive I think than the Clyde itself, and at the mouth of the river North and South Shields stand high, like two guardian lions."

"Goteborg, September 1st: I have seen a great deal of this beautiful and extraordinarily well-ordered city. There is a museum which I found chiefly remarkable for its ecclesiastical section: old fonts, crucifixes, vestments, etc.—*lent* by the several churches to which they belong. The fonts are probably of the eleventh century, and some of them shew sculptures akin to those on our Pictish stones. In one wooden carving of our Lord at the Judgment, He carries the double sceptre  in the very way it appears on our sculptured stones—it means the rod of mercy and the rod of judgment; wherefore in the lower panels the righteous are seen with St. Peter as porter opening to them the door of heaven, while the wicked are being driven by Satan into the (literal) jaws of hell. It is very impressive. . . . I got into two churches (Lutheran); both have a crucifix above the Altar and arrangements for lights and flowers: the pulpit on one side and the organ in the West gallery. In a city built in 1640 one could not expect good churches, and good they certainly are not, but they are large and have a certain dignity and noble towers: moreover they are set in beautiful gardens. But alas! except on the great Festivals they seem to be open for only one service in the week, 10 o'clock on Sunday. As far as I could learn, there was no church open on Sunday evening, and I found 'Church closed' on a board at the English church at which I hoped to be able to join in Evening Prayer. I said my prayers alone in a Swedish church to which I obtained entrance, but how greatly does one miss the 'two or three' of fellow-worshippers! I thought of those who were praying at the time at St. Bride's and elsewhere—but it cost an effort. The shops were all shut except the cafés, and the people were moving about in a very orderly fashion—doing no ill, I suppose, but getting little to help the spiritual life.

"P.S. Swedish cooking is beautiful—such soup!"

"Goteborg: September 2nd: After lunch I went out for a walk in the newer parts of this beautiful town. It is full of splendid new buildings of a new and striking style of architecture. Among these are two new churches, which must have fine interiors—though there was no getting into them [to see]. With Service so infrequent and trade dominant, it need not surprise one to be told that religion is at a

low ebb: and 'the Gothenberg system' of restricting the sale of alcohol has led to the private manufacture of spirits on a very extensive scale—so that drunkenness is on the increase! I *saw* none of it on Sunday, but this morning I met first one young man and then another who could scarcely stand.

"The soups here are wonderful, elegant and strong; and the cream 'Kerchen' are things of joy: I had a queer meal at dinner to-day—chopped salt beef smothered in mashed potatoes and cream and flavoured with leaves of the sweet (Italian) laurel: it was very good. Another good thing was a baked apple dumpling—to-night I have supped on fried halibut with capers. Swedish cooking is certainly of an artistic quality. But this is a very good hotel and not so frightfully expensive as one was led to expect. All meals are served in the restaurant and are served *à la carte*. The bedroom accommodation is good also.

"... I don't think I have more to tell except that the English Chaplain said there was a small Anglicising party rising in the Swedish Church, keen for re-union, and that the Archbishop, a man of extraordinary power and range of interest, is in sympathy with them, which I can well believe. All the better classes are in terror of Bolshevism, which threatens them from Finland more than from Russia."

"Stockholm: September 3rd: Here am I all safe at Stockholm, of whose wonderful beauties as it rises from winding lakes I have just had my first glimpse, under the light of a half moon and its own lights along the shore. . . . I found a polite and most intelligent travelling companion in a dental specialist who had been in America and spoke excellent English—my usual good fortune! He said Archbishop Söderblom is a man of great power, ability and courage—immensely respected by all classes and by the King. He has kept himself free from party ties and has awakened a fresh interest in the Church. 'To be his guest,' he said,—I had showed him the Archbishop's letter—'is to be the guest of Sweden.' To-day's papers mention the 'Excursion' to Sigtuna on Friday, and the Archbishop's proposal that all the *four* Scandinavian Churches—Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Norway—should offer public thanks to God for the restoration of Holstein and Schleswig to Denmark. The name Upsala means the High Hall—it was the ancient seat of judgment and of worship. . . . I have been wondering what the Presbyteries are doing: these will be

rather fateful weeks whichever way things may go. But I am clear both that this Union is a duty to our Lord and likely to be advantageous—as well as safe—for Scotland and the Church at large.”

“ Hospice, Sigtuna, on Lake Malar : September 5th : At eleven the Archbishop arrived, a youngish man who had his eyes opened to see other nations by serving as chaplain to the Swedish Ambassador at Paris, by studying at Leipsig, and exchanging visits with Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury. He got D.D. from St. Andrews at its Quin-centenary in 1911. We had less than an hour’s talk, but I have already found him to be most congenial and am more than amazed by his elasticity, vigour and penetration. Courtesy one expected, but this is cordiality. Sigtuna was a mart of traders in the tenth century : in the eleventh the Germans built a church here, whose ruined Norman tower is a striking object. But the hospice is like the fulfilment of my dream for Iona and shows what *can* be done : if in Sweden, how much more in Scotland.

“ The gathering was unique and included the Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish Army, beside whom I was set down (at table). I had to speak after dinner. In the evening the Archbishop took me to Stockholm, to the beautiful house of his friend the Judge of the Supreme Court.”

“ Stockholm : September 7th : The Archbishop is the most wonderful man—evidently the first wherever he goes and whenever he speaks, and attending (and alive) to every detail. . . . The Archbishop detailed a young clergyman who speaks English perfectly and is a native of Stockholm, to guide me over this lovely city, the very bride of the lakes ; and he has got all the heads of Museums, Churches, Services, etc., to treat me as a distinguished guest. To-day in the morning I am to go in full Moderator’s Dress to the State Conference ‘ Mass ’ (they call it) in the Pro-Cathedral, Stockholm. In the afternoon I hope to have a walk through the City. To-morrow morning I am to inscribe my name in the Crown Prince’s book, and at 12-30 I go out with the Countess Dowager Oxenstierna—descended from Gustavus Adolphus’s great Minister—and am to be her guest till Wednesday. She wanted me till Thursday at her country seat that I might see something of the Swedish country churches, which are rich in old wooden carved and painted reredoses. The Swedish reformers destroyed none of these ornaments, and, as Andrew Fairservice says, ‘ The reform is just as pure.’ ”

“September 9th : On Sunday I went *in state* (lace and stole) to the chief church, where I entered the chancel first after the four officiating clergy. *They* all wore chasubles over albs and chanted with fine voices the versicles, Creed and Lord’s Prayer, to which the choir and people responded. A young clergyman attended me and turned up the places so that I could follow on the Prayer-Book the whole service : the sermon of course was quite unintelligible to me—it lasted three-quarters of an hour, and I think even the vast congregation was tired of it. We had a light lunch afterwards and my host took a nephew and niece to the Stadium, while my hostess took me to the Picture Gallery, and to a point whence a *vue generale* of Stockholm is to be had, but a sudden thunderstorm drove us home and we spent a quiet evening in the house. . . . Yesterday the Countess and her daughter came in a motor and drove me out forty miles through beautiful country : we stopped and examined four or five churches, plain externally, but full of interest inside, Gothic vaulted roofs in brick whitened and painted with Scripture subjects, about 1400 A.D.—carved and gilt reredoses made mostly at Antwerp about 1500, and wonderful chandeliers of brass. The bell-towers are usually apart from the Church : some are an upper storey to the lychgate.”

“September 11th : Upsala : I leave Upsala on the 18th—the day after the delivery of my third address. My rheumatism is almost entirely gone, and I feel younger and more vigorous than I have been since Largo. The Archbishop is amazing—his versatility, his industry, his humour, his mastery of things. It was worth coming to Sweden to see him. His wife and family also and his family life are delightful : and Upsala is full of interest.

“I will tell you a good story.—A (Lutheran) priest at Lund has written a heretical book in which he impugns the personality of the Holy Ghost. For this he was brought before the Synod, and there a venerable clergyman said that the book had so grievously distressed him that he had not been able to sleep for weeks. ‘I did not write it’—the smart heretic replied—‘to send its readers to sleep.’ I don’t remember anything so neat since Robertson Smith was before the Free Church Synod at Aberdeen—where he made stinging repartees. But both he and his Swedish *confrère* were alike heretical and I am glad to learn that the Bishop of Lund has pronounced clearly for the truth.”

“September 13th : Upsala : The Archbishop and I have

just returned on foot from a walk we had to old Upsala, of which I am sending out a few post-cards. It was the site of the great Temple of Thor and Odin and Freya, and the church stands on the site of that—a symbol of the victory of CHRIST. The mounds are the tombs of Kings. At the Reformation the reredos was left in its place. It is the one place in Sweden where they have preserved the recipe for making *mead*, and we had the privilege of drinking your health, proposed by the Archbishop, out of the silver-mounted horns used when members of the Royal family visit the spot. The ‘we’ were his Grace, myself, and the Parson of the parish, a fine Arabic scholar [who is] studying the origin of Mohammedanism: he has discovered that Mohammed learned his notions of Christianity from two heretical sects, the Ebionites and the Nestorians. We had coffee afterwards in his small, but very pretty, parsonage. In the afternoon I am going to make some calls with the Archbishop—for Sweden is a land of etiquette—and then I am to receive an ovation from the students. My first lecture last night was listened to by an immense audience, and I have heard nothing but expressions of satisfaction with it, greater far than my own. But they followed me. We shall see how they turn out to the next one.”

“September 15th: Upsala: I leave this on Wednesday the 17th, for Stockholm, where I believe I am to have an interview, at her own desire, with the Crown Princess Margaret, who is deeply interested in Church Re-union: and I am to be shown the historical museum of Dr. Montelius, the greatest of living antiquaries. Thence I go on to Lund, where the Cathedral boasts a crypt, rivalling (they say) even Glasgow’s; and thence to Copenhagen.

“... My visit here continues to be most delightful, and I am positively smothered with honours, besides meeting every day men and women of real distinction—social or literary. I am shown all that is to be seen (and there is much) under the best auspices and guidance.

“Yesterday I attended Divine Service in the Cathedral here and then took train to Stockholm, where I was met by the Swedish clergyman, who took the prayers in the Church (St. Clara’s) where I was to preach, and by the Rev. Dr. Swinstead, the Chaplain of the English Church in Stockholm—just presented to the living of Bayswater by the Bishop of London. I got tea and a rest: at six, preached at Evening Service; my sermon was in three heads, each

of which was separately translated into Swedish. The Church was crowded, and it holds as many as the East Church ; the English clergyman shut his church and brought his congregation to hear me, and the Stockholm papers this morning give a very flattering account of my sermon and the power of its delivery.

“ . . . What a lot we shall have to speak about ! I am not a bit sorry that I had to give up Crathie—what I had here has been tenfold better for me, and for the things I care for ; but it has done no harm either to these causes or to myself that I was able to say yesterday—‘ I should have been preaching before the King to-day.’ ”

“ September 16th : Upsala : A change has come over my plans which forbids your sending anything to Copenhagen and still deprives me, I fear, of any letter from you till we meet. The Princess Margaret wants me to wait upon her on *Thursday afternoon*, when the Crown Prince also will be at home to receive me ; and one does not get the chance of meeting a future King and Queen every day. . . . My second lecture was delivered last night : the hall was again crowded, with many distinguished people in the audience. I am so glad I took with me the slides of St. Magnus Cathedral—which is the finest work ever reared by Scandinavians. I must see that the Prince of Scandinavia and the Archbishop are invited to its re-opening.

“ P.S. My third lecture was finished before breakfast this morning ! I do manage to get things done up to time. And the lecture is all the better because written in the light of their questions.”

“ September 18th : Upsala : I have seen a number of the institutions of Upsala. They have three Residences for Divinity Students—twenty in the largest one ; and an interesting system of management—a Theological Professor, non-resident, in charge of each : a committee of Students, one of them ‘ the Father of the House ’ : and a Lady Housekeeper.”

“ September 19th : Stockholm : In Norway I shall see places merely : here it has been persons, and some of them of special note. I do believe the Archbishop to be the ablest man, and the man of widest outlook and clearest vision, in Europe ; and we have been as intimate as brothers : I am to be with him again on Sunday at his own special desire, taking part in an ordination in a church some twenty miles off. To-day the greatest by far of European archæo-

logists, M. Montelius, gave me from 11 to 1 [o'clock], taking me over the Historical Museum, and when I left presented me with some souvenirs. He enjoyed it evidently, as I do taking folks over the Hunterian; but it was very kind and his explanations were wonderful—in perfect English."

"September 22nd: Stockholm: Yesterday I took part, at the Archbishop's desire, in an induction service, very fine, yet simple too. The Archbishop wore a cope and mitre of cloth of gold, four assistant priests were in chasubles: the church was crowded and the singing hearty. It is a Gothic Church and full of wonderful things—wall-painting, monuments, a very fine Crucifix, life-size and gilded, over the Altar; and on the Altar, *eight* massive silver candlesticks, some of them nearly as old as the church."

"Kristiania, 24th September: The journey from Stockholm is a long one. Had I taken a sleeping compartment I could have got here in one day, but not to speak of the expense I should have seen nothing of the country and missed a great deal of pleasure and of interest. My good luck followed me, and a young officer, a former Upsala student, who spoke English well, took entire charge of me. All over Sweden the houses and farms seem tidiness itself. Norway seems poorer: I have seen no wheat, and the houses are not nearly so good or so well kept. The scenery hitherto has often reminded me of Lower Deeside. Kristiania is a sorry Capital after the grandeur of Stockholm. I go to Bergen on Friday."

"Bergen, 26th September: I spent two very pleasant quiet days in Christiania, which grows on one and has charms of its own—its situation, for example, is lovely, at the head of a long fiord and girdled with low hills. But to-day I have had quite the most beautiful and splendid railway journey I ever had in my life. . . . Norway is extraordinarily beautiful and not so cold as I expected. I had a comfortable seat, met many kind, and some nice people—and the three meals served were excellent, so that I am not so tired as I expected and am extremely glad I have had this experience."

Circumstances were unpropitious for Dr. Cooper's return voyage. The weather broke on the day on which he reached Bergen, and he crossed to Newcastle in discomfort and cold—"horrid sea sickness and rheumatism"—to find a railway strike in progress and travelling difficult.

"October 2nd: Arrived in Glasgow, after a tedious

journey from Newcastle (9-30 till 6-30), but thankful to get on. At Newcastle it was a pitiable sight, though salutary, to see a line of soldiers with their guns ready and mitrail-leuses at their feet in case of disturbance. But all was quiet and orderly. Met at the station. But I had come home very poorly."

For the rest of the month he was an invalid. He seems after a week or two to have managed to carry on the work of his Chair, but other engagements had to be cancelled, and for the first time in many years his diary is neglected. It resumes at the end of October.—"29th: The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Glasgow called—his Grace said he could not be in Glasgow without paying his respects to me! and afterwards (according to a promise given last night to Dr. Milligan) addressed the Divinity Students in my class—grave, wise, earnest and believing words based on Acts i. The Principal presided and I thanked his Grace. The students were deeply impressed."

"November 3rd: Licentiate's Association—I gave the address in my drawing-room. We had a most pleasant meeting—largely of former students—*now* at a stage to profit by Pastoral Theology."

"Nov. 4th: Rev. — called: he has a Service on All Souls' Day, at which he reads the names of members of his flock who have died during the year. I suggested that after reading them, he should read II Tim. i, 16-18, shewing that St. Paul thought and prayed at the remembrance of loved ones gone."

"November 6th: English Church Enabling Bill passed House of Commons (second reading) by 304—16. *Laus Deo*. A beginning of the reversal of Henry VIII's tyranny and of good omen for us in the Church of Scotland and for Reunion."

"November 11th: Armistice Day: At 10-45 the University assembled in Bute Hall, when the Principal read the King's Message: two minutes of silent prayer and remembrance of the glorious Dead—the Doxology and the 'Peace of God,' which, as Chaplain of the G.U.O.T.C., I pronounced—a very solemn Service. In class we sang Psalm cxxvi."

"November 19th: Alarming statement of Mr. Balfour as to allowing the Sultan a home in Constantinople. The old crime—our inveterate sin. It is a homage of fear to the Infidel, an injury to the Eastern Christians and a dishonour to our Blessed Lord."

"December 14th: In the morning I was able to preach for the first time since I returned from Sweden."

During that week the Scottish Church Society had its Tenth Conference in Glasgow. Dr. Cooper was so far recovered that he and Mrs. Cooper gave a reception for the members—"about eighty guests. All seemed to enjoy themselves, as we did ourselves"—and was able to read the opening paper on *The Limitations necessarily involved for particular or national Churches in the Maintenance of their Catholicity*.

"December 16th: Scottish Church Society Conference. Holy Communion at Glasgow Cathedral, 10 a.m.—delightful and beautiful: just what the Cathedral was built for."

"December 17th: Commission of Assembly: I was not able to go to Edinburgh, but rejoice to learn that it has been resolved to go to Parliament, by a large majority."

"December 19th: Close of first Term, Winter Session. By God's blessing I have been able to give all my lectures this term, and am a great deal better and stronger."

CHAPTER XVI

LAST YEARS

“**G**OD be in my head, and in my understanding : God be in my eyes, and in my looking : God be in my mouth, and in my speaking : God be in my heart, and in my thinking : God be in mine end at my departing ” —so Dr. Cooper heads his diary for 1921, quoting from the Sarum Primer of 1558. “ I am better than I have been for months,” he writes on January 1st, “ but old age is unquestionably upon me, and it is clear that my time for much active work is over. There is much I should wish to do, and I have some heavy engagements on me, notably the Croall Lectures : I trust God may enable me to finish them.” And indeed for that winter and summer he seemed to regain much of his vigour and maintained all his interests.

“ January 26th : Died at Edinburgh, the Very Rev. Wm. Mair, D.D., Minister of Earlston—*Decanus Patrum Moderatorum—Beatus Pacificus*—he laboured much for unity, and for the true motive, ‘ believing it to be the will of our Lord Jesus Christ ’ : and he obtained a Pisgah view of it.”

To the Rev. E. Gordon Selwyn, Redhill Rectory : “ March 30th, 1920 : I wanted particularly to animadvert on what I cannot but think is the unreasonableness of Bishop Gore. What better Father could he have than St. Jerome, and there are Apostolic Fathers as well—even St. Ignatius acknowledged the Church of Philippi, which the Epistle of St. Polycarp shews had no monarchical Bishop when St. Ignatius passed through it. Nor does Bishop Wordsworth think there was a Monarchical Bishop then at Rome either, and St. Ignatius is full of praise for the Roman Church. His word for ‘ without the Bishop ’ is not *ἀνευ* but *χωρὶς*. Again Bishop Gore ignores the great Schoolmen who regarded the Episcopate and the Presbyterate as one *order*, differing only in grade : and the unquestionable fact that Presbyters lay on hands in ordination with the Bishop. Episcopacy

was an early development, and a good one. It received Apostolic sanction. All we deny is its absolute necessity in all cases ; while we think our Scottish case, as [one] of necessity, is pretty strong. Moreover the Scottish Episcopal Church twice over accepted a whole clergy in Presbyterian orders (1610 and 1661), and the Church of England entered into full communion with the bishops and Church of Scotland in *that* condition. If those acts did not unchurch the Anglicans of either nation then, why should a repetition of it unchurch them now ? And why should we be asked now to take a step that was not asked of us either by Andrews or by Laud, nor complained of by either ?¹ If I had time and strength I would write to Bishop Gore and expostulate with him on his speech to the E.C.U. We have nothing to do with Calvin's views : our position is that the Church of Scotland was reformed by *Presbyters* in circumstances when the bishops had notoriously failed in their duty : that the succession was maintained and affirmed. He knows also that the English Presbyterian Ministers *asserted*, and insisted on, their Apostolical succession all through ' the time of Popery,' and that both Scots and English Presbyterians have held and asserted the *principle of succession* quite as constantly and clearly as the Church of England. Our case, however, is quite different from that of English Nonconformists : we are a National Church, autocephalous on earth, and using (probably unwisely, but with no heretical intention) the liberty the English Church claims in Article xxxiv."

In the same view Dr. Cooper, a week or two later than the date of his letter to Mr. Selwyn, complains of another distinguished Anglican, visiting Scotland in the interests of unity, who " spoke with much kindness, but seemed to forget that we are not English Nonconformists."

He was deeply moved by proposals to retain the Sultan at Constantinople, and wrote repeatedly and passionately to the press, associating himself with the protest of the " venerable Dr. Clifford " against that course, as " degrading to our Government and as disgusting and disgraceful to our nation."

In April, the Winter Session being closed, he went with Mrs. Cooper to the South of England, and returned all too soon to take up classes again and to resume his habit of

¹ Dr. Cooper seems to mean that neither Andrews nor Laud complained of the course followed in 1610.

constant Sunday duty. The meetings of the General Assembly followed, and found him active in its business. By invitation, he addressed the United Free Church Assembly at its "Jewish evening," and spoke of the Balfour declaration as to the "National Home" to be assured to the Jews in Palestine, what it should and what it should not mean; and obtained from the Ecclesiological Society a resolution of surprise and sorrow at the proposal to remove nineteen of the City Churches of London, as likely to prove injurious to religion and destructive of much of the charm of the City. The City of London, he said, was one vast temple of Mammon, and London ought to be ashamed of the suggestion that these witnesses to God and to the things of the spirit should be taken away. The Assembly "on the whole" he found "not unsatisfactory"—since there is progress in Missions and in Religious Education, and the number of baptisms during the year has been larger: "but the closing psalm is always gracious and uplifting."

"May 29th: The event of the day has been Dr. Headlam's letter announcing the intention of the University of Oxford to confer on me the degree of D.D.: it is the first occasion on which Oxford has been free to give it [to] any non-Anglican, and she has taken this opportunity to pay a compliment to the Church of Scotland." He notes regretfully that he "could no longer hope to get a school for Gaelic-speaking youths at Iona"; there has been one donation of £300 towards it, and he secures the assent of the giver to its use as, so far as it will go, an endowment for psalmody in the Cathedral there. The Iona scheme had lain very near his heart; it embodied the deep feeling of tenderness for all things Highland which he developed with the years. This feeling was not native to him—when I knew him first, he was inclined to boast of the purity of his Nordic descent: the Gordons were immigrants from the south, and he could discover no Gaelic name in his pedigree; he would remark on a certain lack of sympathy between the races which dwell on this side and on that of the Nairn, and he was somewhat impatient of the value which certain of his friends assigned to Celtic Christianity—to him it was "a barbarous muttering," a decadence which St. Margaret reformed; his Women's Guild, the darling of his early pastorate, was named from her and not from St. Bride; Scottish Church history, as he saw it then, dated effectively from Malcolm Canmore's second marriage, which brought

Scotland into the main stream of Western Catholicism. All that changed from his translation from the severe Scandinavianism of Aberdeen to the more Celtic atmosphere of Strathclyde. His own Ecclesiological Society and its contact with the Christian origins in Scotland had also something to do with his conversion to the Celtic tradition; the exigencies of his Chair of Church History sent him to a thorough study of the Celtic Church and made him conscious of its spiritual splendour and of its extraordinary importance in the evangelisation of Europe; his visits to Ireland influenced him, and his friendship with Celtic scholars like MacGregor of Inverallochy: and finally his Highland students, as he knew them at Glasgow, which is the University of the Western Highlands, and indeed of the Highlands generally, much more than is Aberdeen, won his heart. He forsook the Borders as a holiday resort for Lorn and Badenoch. He came to think that the Church of Scotland gave too little thought to the Highlands and Highlanders, and he grew to be their eager friend. And Iona symbolised to him this new affection. Iona excited him, and when he talked of it and of the practical mind, opaque to its values, his natural petulance sometimes mastered him—the fire burned, and he spake with his tongue. If ever the Church of Scotland, becoming conscious of his services to her, should desire to have a memorial of Dr. Cooper, hardly better could be found than to fulfil his dream for the sacred Island and for the remnant of the clansmen.

“June 9th: Writing lecture on suppression of Jesuits: I had a little ready, dealing with their expulsion from Portugal and the destruction of their Paraguay Missions. It was really a triumph for Voltairism, and the good Moderate Popes were tools. Ranke’s remark that the Jesuits did not answer the infidels:—neither did our Edinburgh men, who met Hume in society. Our Scottish replies came from Aberdeen, where they felt less his personal fascination. In England there were many defenders of the faith.”

“June 11th: Pope Clement XIV. In his Brief for suppression of the Jesuits, he styles himself *Moderator Reipublicæ Christianæ*.” Here then would be at least one precedent, if it is held good, for a title which tends to come into our use. Among Dr. Cooper’s papers is a letter from a Swedish lady, which addresses him as Moderator of Scotland, but he did not assume that style.

In the same month he went up to Oxford for the Com-

memoration and Graduation. "Dinner in Christchurch Hall—the Gaudy. I sat at the high table opposite M. Venizelos, whose nation one could not discern from his face which might be that of an English nobleman of quiet manner."

To Mrs. Cooper: "Christchurch, Oxford, 23rd June, 1920. Paderewski has still the locks of a musician, if he has the head of a statesman: Venizelos might be an Englishman born, and he has a most beautiful smile: I have not yet spoken to either, but I was in the best place possible for seeing both. Paderewski knows how to bow: doubtless he has had long practise in that."

"June 24th: Attend a Convocation of the University at 10 a.m. Had the degree of D.D. *honoris causa* conferred upon me—the first non-Anglican since the Laudian Statutes—given me expressly as a representative of the Church of Scotland, and therefore the more honourable. Principal Sir G. A. Smith, Dr. Skinner, Mr. Peake, Mr. St. John Thackeray, and Baron von Hügel received it with me."

To the same: "24th June: To-day's ceremony was on much the same lines as yesterday, and was followed by the ordinary Graduation. I was called forward first and had to reply to the toast at the luncheon afterwards—which was in Oriel College, where the Tractarian movement began. I was very nervous and thought my speech halting, but Principal Smith and others said that I said exactly the right things. Everyone is kinder than another. Baron von Hügel, who got the same degree, has a descent from Donside ministers and the Farquharsons of Allargue!"

After a run to Edinburgh for a meeting and excursion of the Architectural Association, Dr. Cooper returned to Oxford as Dr. Headlam's guest at Christchurch for a conference on *Theological Questions underlying the Problems of Reunion*, and was back in Edinburgh in time for the Royal visit to that city and for certain of its functions to which he was summoned; "it was delightful to have their Majesties at Holyrood."

"July 7th: Finished reading Dr. Headlam's Bampton Lectures; a masterly statement of doctrine of Church and Ministry, and magnanimous proposals in regard to the Church of Scotland and the English Nonconformists. If the Lambeth Conference can act on these lines and take steps to approach the different bodies, they should achieve a magnificent success for the glory of CHRIST and the furthering of HIS work. I greatly regret that the book has appeared

at a time of year when there is no one to read it or listen to its argument—till October ! ”

In the end of July Dr. and Mrs. Cooper left for Geneva, where an important conference, preparatory to the still greater conference designed by the Faith and Order movement, was to meet : visiting in Sussex, spending some time in London and Rouen, and so at leisure by Paris and Dijon to Switzerland. He went as delegate from the “ Commission,” or as we should say, Committee, of the Church of Scotland, and was chosen one of the Business Committee of the Conference.

“ August 11th : Found the Archbishop of Upsala and others, M. Brioth, Dr. and Mrs. McClymont, and others. It was the closing day of the Archbishop’s Œcumenical Conference, and he had got his Society constituted. He and others were most kind.”

The Conference began on the 12th and lasted till the 19th. Searching questions—succinct, Cooper calls them—were proposed and considered : “ Do we believe in and desire a united visible Church, one Society ? Have we one Faith, expressed ? Are we ready to submit to Divine discipline that we may meet together ? ” “ I was asked by Dr. Ramsay to speak, and during the lunch interval wrote out something—considerations shewing suitability of Nicene Creed to our purpose and its thoroughly Scriptural character. My speech well, and person well received, and I was cordially thanked.”

“ August 18th : The whole day occupied discussing the constitution and constituents of the Continuation Committee : I could have been elected for Scotland, but declined, owing to my age and nervous warnings.”

Returning, a stop was made at Amiens and some of the battlefields visited—Albert and La Corbie—“ dreadful desolation. . . . M. expressing sympathy, was gently reminded that custom was better, so went and had a cup of coffee.”

To the Rev. E. G. Selwyn : “ Geneva, 20th August : The enclosed pages are the fulfilment of my promise : to me they seem jejune and dry in the extreme ; but I can no more put on paper the solemnity, the uplifting, the joy, the wonders of the whole, than I can convey the flavour or the sweetness of the delicious pears which melt in our mouths.

“ God is working in and with us : and there has not been one single drop of Gall in the Cup of our remembrance.”

To the Rev. J. F. Leishman, Linton Manse : “ Geneva,

21st August: I have been making enquiries about the Geneva heresy which distressed your grandfather in 1827, but can get no information. Dr. Martin, who so often represents the Geneva Church at the Assembly, never heard of it. Professor Borgeau, the historian of the University, never heard of 'Melan' and says it is not a Swiss name, and he knows of no movement here that left any trace of its existence. You should write, however, to the Professor of Church History here—Rev. Professor Choisy—and give him the extract in full."

"The Turretins and other of the famous old families of Geneva are still represented in the city, and it is a very Athens in point of intellectual curiosity."

"The Conference on Faith and Order was wonderful beyond words. Think of Greek Prelates, American Methodists and Disciples of Christ, Scots Presbyterians, English Nonconformists, Swedish Lutherans, Moravians, Hungarians, Czecho-Slavs, etc.—all meeting under the presidency of the Anglican Bishops, and finding a most popular leader in Bishop Gore! Not an ill-natured word (a little Presbyterian *dourness* . . .)—and no insincerity. We received with deep sympathy an exiled Russian Bishop, were much moved by an invitation to hold our great conference at Jerusalem, from the Orthodox Patriarch: and we all *officially* attended a glorious Mass in the Russian Church on Thursday, 19th—their Feast of the Transfiguration. Also we have resolved to carry on the work and have appointed a *Continuation Committee*.

"P.S. I am looking forward with especial pleasure to have your son as a student. Tell him that three¹ of my students are now Divinity Professors in Scotland."

"10th August: Returned Mr. Leishman's MS. He has written a charming book² and has done justice at last to an interesting group of Divines, whom the Seceders of 1843 stigmatised as the 'Forty Thieves.' But they were parties to the cruel deposition of the Strathbogie Ministers, and their leader heard apparently without horror Dr. Chalmers' proposal to depose 'fifty or sixty' others. They would have crushed the Northern (and more orthodox) Moderates as ruthlessly as the Covenanters of 1638-60 did the Aberdeen Doctors and the Scottish Royalists. But Dr. Matthew Leishman was a genuine Churchman. I [have] met Dr.

¹ Now four—three in Chairs of Ecclesiastical History.

² *Matthew Leishman of Govan*: Gardner, 1921.



BRAEMORISTON, ELGIN

Norman Macleod, and knew Dr. Wylie, Carluke : the others came not North."

To the Rev. E. G. Selwyn : " Glasgow, 28th September : Dr. — has sent me his letter to you that I may say how far I agree with him. I am as clear as [he] that with the *Church of Scotland* it would be folly to ignore the precedent of 1610, and it would moreover tend to create the impression that Anglicans were withdrawing from the position of earlier utterances, 1908 :—' It might be possible to make an approach . . . on the basis of the precedents of 1610.' I think we all in Scotland (Episcopalians and Presbyterians) contemplate an *interim* : certainly none of us would wish to minister Holy Communion to people who doubted whether they could lawfully receive it at our hands ! I was, like —, thinking of possible irregularities in Canada : but even so, would it not be better to risk a few of these, rather than to lose the chance of healing 'an unhappy division' and of putting an effectual stop to a recurrence of these very irregularities ? At the same time, for *myself*, I welcomed the proposal of conditional ordination, which to accept is a very real advance both for Bishop Gore and Dr. Frere. But Canada is Canada and Scotland is Scotland.

" I am sufficiently recovered to be allowed to attempt teaching both my classes in the approaching winter session : I doubt whether I shall be allowed to go to Edinburgh for the October committees of Assembly, when the subject of the Lambeth Message will be taken up. They will do nothing rashly : and I am confident that time is on our side, alike among the U.F.'s and ourselves : I get daily proofs of this. But the point always to be urged is the revealed desire (St. John xvii) and promise (St. John x) of our Blessed Lord, the Head of the Church. Before that, all difficulties should give way and all personal feelings : everything except faithfulness to His other precepts."

Unhappily the " sufficient recovery " of which he writes to Mr. Selwyn proved deceptive. It enabled him to obey a command to Balmoral, to make a run to London and then a round of visits at Elgin and in the North, to attend Synod and secure an Overture for limitation of the tenure of Conventions of the Assembly's Standing Committees ; but all this was poor preparation for the work of his Chair, when that should claim him. Ardchattan instead of Oxford—Newtonmore rather than Geneva : that would have been more prudent ; and so probably he knew as well as we who

feared for him; but he preferred to work while it was called to-day—the night was coming, when man cannot work, and “there were many things that he wished to do.”

“October 25th: Broke down in class.” The breakdown was for the time absolute and proved to be the beginning of illness, from which (though there were to be improvements and relapses) he was not to recover. Meantime all engagements had to be cancelled, and rest till after the Christmas vacation accepted. But there was no mental confusion and no dimness of fire.

“November 2nd: Attempt of Teetotalers to abolish all licenses. My ladies voted, as I should have done, ‘Reduction’—the poor middle course allowed us.”

“November 3rd: ‘No License’ routed over Scotland: but it will hardly check the fanatics, except for whom we might have had real temperance reform.”

November 11th: Armistice Day. In London and in Paris ceremonial burial of ‘an Unknown Soldier’—representative of all the Fallen in the late War: in both capitals fine idea well carried out: but with a difference. In Christian England, the funeral in Westminster Abbey with Divine Service, and ‘I am the Resurrection and the Life.’ In France at the Arc de Triomphe!—when they had the choice of Notre Dame and the Church of the Invalides. And France more than half Christian.

“Here very solemn moment in the Bute Hall, and no less so in my drawing-room.”

During this enforced quietness Dr. Cooper found occupation in an undertaking which he prosecuted at intervals until strength entirely failed—namely, the composition of an autobiography. There were difficulties:—it had to be dictated, and dictation is an art in which he had no experience. He knew too much and he remembered too much—he loved places and he relished the memory of persons and could not forbear from telling us what we too ought to know of them: hence he must digress and that copiously. Every name suggested an anecdote or a reminiscence too good to be excluded. Much therefore was written, but progress through the years of recollection was slow. The work was designed to cover only his experience before removing to Glasgow, for, in defiance of modern practice, he had decided that “one cannot write about living people”: but even so, if it had been completed on the scale on which it was begun, it must have reached encyclopædic dimensions.

Unfortunately, too, what was overtaken was not consecutive, but consists largely of episodes and of notes to be utilised as the narrative proceeded; nothing reached the stage of readiness for the press unless the pages (one of several beginnings) which open this volume. Even so, these fragments make good reading.

"November 20th: Spent most of the day dictating to M. a letter to the Scottish Church Society Conference which meets in Glasgow on Tuesday."

"December 8th: Are reading together *The Inheritance*:¹ charmed with its witty dialogues and amusing incidents—the manners and customs exactly those I remember in Elgin till about 1860."

About this time a favourite scheme began to take shape—for what Dr. Cooper called a *Maison Dieu* at Elgin. It was to be at once a Church House and a cultural centre, spiritual and intellectual, for the region of Moray. It was to inherit his library, the "Volusenian"² library—and to have a Warden, a scholar, who should both pursue there his own studies, and encourage piety and learning in others. The project advanced so far that plans for the building intended were prepared, and some beginning made with the accumulation of a fund for its erection and endowment: that scheme too died with its author. The revision of his Croall Lecture also engaged him—that as well to be left unfinished. His journal shews that he maintained all his interest in current events, and by correspondence at least he could still take some part in them.

To the Rev. J. F. Leishman: "14th December, 1920: The improvement is steady. My mind is all right—my thoughts never more fertile, but I cannot hold a book. I have no sort of pain; I enjoy life, am surrounded with the most loving attention, and in short—'Thank God for all.'

"The Minister who imposed—doubtless in Kirk-session and according to long custom—the white sheet at the Kirk door as her public 'satisfaction' (penance) was the Rev. William Smith of the Parish of Bower in Caithness. I knew well two of his family. More than once Mr. Smith spoke of the case and assured me that he saw the

¹ By Miss Ferrier.

² From Florentius Volosenius (Florence Wilson) a notable scholar of Elgin, of whom a charming account by Dr. Cooper—one of the notes prepared for the Autobiography—appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*, August and September, 1924.

woman standing in the street at the Kirk door. The dates I cannot give you."

"February 15th, 1921: At Elgin on my suggestion . . . a committee has been formed for keeping anniversary of foundation of Elgin Cathedral, 1224, and I wrote to Mr. Wordsworth, Sub-Dean of Salisbury, for copies of the Order of Service used [there] in their 700th anniversary last year."

The policy of reprisals in Ireland gave him intense distress; he notes a leader in the *Church Times* in its condemnation as "highly approved": "the Government are acting in the very spirit of Cromwell, whose legacy has been of such misery."

"March 20th: The first time since 1878 that I have not been able to take an active part in Holy Week Services; but I am glad to see how the observance is growing. My good mother-in-law truly said, 'It is far better than the old Fast Days.'"

"April 19th: Death of the Right Rev. Archibald Ean Campbell, D.D., Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway—a great and noble man, who but for his deafness might have held an English See: but he was a Scotsman, and had attained quite the foremost place among the ministers in Glasgow: he was at once modest and dignified, while as a champion of the cause of Missions he has had no rival in the West since Dr. Livingstone. His wife has also been a great force for religion and fellowship among us. His death is a sorrow and a loss."

The opening of the Summer Term found Dr. Cooper still unable to lecture, but strong enough to bear removal to Peebles for change.

"May 26th: Glasgow again. . . . I feel much better, but [Doctor] utterly forbids my attempting to go to Edinburgh to hear the Lambeth Deputies—a great disappointment, but I should be thankful to be here to submit. And the great thing is that the deputation should come."

"May 29th: By God's good hand upon me I was able to be at Church, St. Bride's, once more." There was Celebration and Dr. Cooper records his "intention"—(1) blessing on the Lambeth deputies at the Assembly, (2) for the Christians of Asia Minor, obviously in great peril.

"May 31st: At the General Assembly, Deputation from Lambeth Conference. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Primus: I was forbidden to go, but M. went and was profoundly impressed with the

high tone of the Primate's speech—they got a magnificent reception. I went to my class, read Psalms cxxiii, ciii, cxlvi, read St. John x and xvii, certain verses and prayed."

"June 1st: Full report in the *Scotsman* of yesterday's proceedings in our Assembly. . . . but the U.F. Assembly was better than ours, Dr. Philip proving the right man!"

"June 21st: Wrote to Dean of Faculty my objections to Overture *re* Church History: The Church is an Article of Faith, and needs to be discussed with prayer."

"June 22nd: Letter from Bishop Doull of Kootenay, British Columbia. He takes my *Reunion—a Voice from Scotland* as his *vade-mecum*:—I wonder how many Ministers or members of the Church of Scotland have read it."

"June 23rd: The Church Bill has passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons. . . . The Bill makes no immediate change, but has potentialities. We are bound to Trinitarian orthodoxy and to be protestant, whatever that may mean:—I suppose it allows everything short of the papal supremacy."

The improvement in Dr. Cooper's health continued and by the end of June he was able to read the Gospel at a Celebration in Oatlands Church. For July he went to Strathpeffer, and seemed at once to revive there. We hear again of excursions in examination of the ecclesiology of this district which was fresh to him, and in true Scots fashion there are lively comments on each Sunday's sermons, for now he is again in church at all services. The relics of Celtic peculiarity, which he discovers, impress him.

"25th July: Very interesting talk with Miss C. on Highland superstitions, which die hard: a lady is still living, for whom, on suspicion that a fainting fit which she had was epilepsy, a black cock was sacrificed—buried alive—with a religious service, prayers! Miss C. said it was impossible to know what the Highland peasants had at the back of their minds. On the death of a suicide, an old crone came out at the funeral: 'When Satan comes for his own, he *must* go.'"

Of another church—"A Gothic arch, under which was an effigy, is covered over with a cloth: otherwise no one would sit near it." The sense of the numinous is, however, not universal, for in the same church "the laird insisted in keeping his seat in a gallery at the East End; so the interior arrangements had to be reversed at a late restoration."

"Left Strathpeffer with regret : having benefited greatly"—so much so that his Doctor "was astonished to find me so well and said he saw no reason why I should not be able for a good part of my College work this coming Session (*Laus Deo*) . . . God has given us a wonderful summer for sunshine."

The remainder of the summer was spent at Aberdeen and Elgin. On his return to Glasgow, his first business was to visit Mossbank Reformatory—"things going on nicely there, but a great falling off in the number of children committed : said to be to save expense ; but it is a short-sighted economy, letting young lives go to ruin, which might have been saved."

"September 14th : To-day (I think—anyhow this week,) Mrs. ——— 'married' her deceased husband's brother—the first to avail themselves of the new Act of Parliament legalising it. . . . The 'Headship of Christ' does not seem to require obedience to the Divine Law of Marriage : this comes apparently of denying that Marriage is a Sacrament, and feeling it needful to make it as much of a civil matter as possible. It is a sad feature in our Scottish Church History since the Reformation. Our Standards are all right, but there is scant respect paid to them. The Chancellor, Lord Selborne, was right when he said the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill meant the destruction of a code."

"October 5th : Mr. Ehn told me (1) that the Archbishop of Upsala presided at the Quinquennial Council of the Church of Sweden, (2) that he and the bishops are subject to the Council, which, however, is incompetent to abolish the order ; and (3) that the Parish Priest is the Minister of Confirmation : the bishop at his visitation inspecting the 'confirmation class,' which goes on for a year."

With October Dr. Cooper took up his University work and was able to carry it on—"without undue fatigue," he says—but handicapped by deafness and neuralgia. In his diary his inveterate Royalism breaks out in sympathy for Carl of Hapsburg, in whom he saw another "Young Adventurer," and in his aerial flight to Hungary a parallel to the landing in Moidart of another Charles : "but the Hungarians did not rise—very unlike the gallant chiefs at Moidart in 1745 : liker the base Scots who sold Charles I to the English—an event we do not celebrate in heroic song. I am angry at our newspapers, who, in days when Bolshevism is abroad deride the romantical loyalty of the

Tyrolese." Nearer home his own work goes on, "but with difficulty . . . continual pain . . . anxiety deepening"; a few weeks after the work of lecturing has begun he writes, à propos of the Ecclesiological Society, that circumstances "have set me thinking of the steps to be taken, not simply to provide for the carrying on of meetings this Session but for next year, when I shall be away—in what sense 'away'? But not away from God, through His mercy, nor [out] of His Church the Body of CHRIST, one on earth and in heaven."

"November 8th: It becomes more apparent that I ought to resign in 1922:—God by many signs shewing the way."

Nevertheless it was only in physical strength that he was failing—the old keenness does not fail, nor his power to give it expression. On November 1st he writes to the Rev. J. M. Haddow of Buittle:—"I have been shamefully long in answering your kind letter . . . though I have been much better and able to take all my classes, yet I have to be so much in bed and must be so careful to avoid fatigue that I have not been able to write at all as I want to do. Your letter makes three points clear: (1) that your dedication is to St. Ninian (no less), whose name takes many forms: he is the Saint of Colmonell (the Col being Kil). There was therefore a Church or Chapel on the site long before Devorgilla's magnificent foundation at Sweetheart. The *well* is an additional bit of evidence. (2) the deeds of gift of the fourteenth century give no information as to the event which suggested (indeed necessitated) the enlarged church: companies of Monks would come from Sweetheart for change of air, etc., as well as to gather the fruits of their new possession. According to the Rule of their Order they would have to sing the six canonical 'hours' daily—the chancel or choir was therefore built for them and had to be made wider to admit of Stalls. There should be a door leading into their Sacristy—is there trace of such? (3) The Nave was always for the parishioners. I am not sure whether the existing (ruined) one is, or is not, the Church built just before the Reformation—one would need to examine the witness of the building itself."

Or for another example of his indomitable activity—he had a motion before the Presbytery of Glasgow in December, moved for him by his friend and pastor, the Minister of St. Bride's, to protest against the abandonment by the Allies of the Christian minorities in Asia Minor. Two days

before this he had written, sending in his resignation of his Chair as from 15th August, 1922, ("my dear Mother's birthday," he calls it)—Mr. Napier Bell to assist him till then in its work. His strength was fairly maintained and he continued to lecture, sometimes twice a day. At the end of the term in March he was able to preach in the Bute Hall of the University to the O.T.C.—whose Chaplaincy was one of his most valued offices:—"Got through the sermon in excellent voice, but on weak legs. Sent to bed when it was over." It was the last occasion of his preaching—mercifully, one does not recognise those "last times," as they occur, to be the last, and he makes no further comment. He continued to read the lessons at St. Bride's on most of his remaining Sundays before leaving Glasgow. On the report as to candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (a degree for which the standard of examination is not lax) he is able to reflect with satisfaction that during his professoriate he has never had one of his students fail in the Ecclesiastical History paper. On the 2nd of April he dictates one more Overture—his last—to be laid before his Synod "with regard to the infamous terms proposed for Turkey," and on the 4th he records the death of "the ex-Emperor, Karl VIII of Austria, Karl IV of Hungary—an ill-used man: but he is not the last of the Hapsburgs." Royalism indeed—but not royalism only: Dr. Cooper was convinced that the Allies erred in allowing the dissolution of the Austrian Empire; it should have been maintained, he thought, as a barrier against Bolshevism and as a flank guard to Western Europe: which is at least a possible opinion.

In April he notes that "with help" he is undertaking the work of the Summer Term—the men coming up for it were "War-Privilege" men, and he was anxious to do what could be done for them in their abbreviated course. As it proved, his working days were practically over. He completed with much labour (by the abhorred process of dictation) certain literary engagements—a Presidential Address for the Annual Meeting of the Ecclesiological Society in May, and an article which he had promised to the late Mr. Silas McBee for *The Constructive Review*. He revised a transcript which he had made of the Liturgy of Valerandus Pollanus from the MS preserved in Glasgow and offered it to the then lately formed Church History Society for publication.

"April 22nd: Distressed to see that the City's War Memorial Committee propose erecting a 'Cenotaph,' gigantic, meaningless, and in severest Greek style, right in front of the Town House—and removing Mr. Gladstone's Statue to give it room! 'We must follow suit to London.'"

"April 27th: — called. He has discovered a page I had not seen, bearing date Frankfort 1554—the year of Queen Mary's accession, and Knox's flight to the Continent. He must have taken Valerandus with him: this confirms weightily my view that the book is the parent of the Puritan type of liturgy, as the Second of Edward VI is of the Anglican."

"May 30th: At the General Assembly an Overture moved by General Sir Charles Fergusson, (Sir James' son) from the Presbytery of Ayr, 'on the observance of the more important seasons of the Christian Year' was received and remitted to the Committee on Aids to Devotion—another of the Perth Articles accepted!"

"June 6th: My class met in my drawing-room. I spoke of Whit-Sunday and the importance of observing it and preaching on the Holy Ghost, the one Spirit of the one Body, the great gift of Christ to His Church."

"June 15th: My last lecture. Ended with Nicene Creed, as I began in October, 1898."

"June 22nd: Graduation—Honorary Degree. (All Professors of the University who retire receive a complimentary Degree of LL.D.). I had an extraordinary ovation from all in the Bute Hall—Staff, Students and the public."

"July 4th: Our Government has in reply to Cardinal Gaspari (for the Pope) at last acknowledged in terms that we are a Christian nation and have duties to the Christians of Palestine, over which we have a mandate. Would that it extended to Anatolia."

"July 14th: The Russian Soviet has forbidden any one to be baptised till he is eighteen, when he may have baptism, if he desires it. They know where to strike."

"August 6th: Last Sunday we are like to have in Glasgow and at our much loved St. Bride's Church. . . . I gave the blessing."

Dr. Cooper left Glasgow with deep regret: it had been the centre of his best work; it had given him a home where he had been entirely happy, and a host of congenial friends: he had struck deep roots in its ecclesiastical and municipal and social life: he had found there, what meant very much

to him (week by week he writes of it with thankfulness) a worship and a ministry which contented his soul—and to which in leaving he refers as “an unspeakable loss”: he was a personage in the City’s life, as he had been in that of Aberdeen, and he was regarded by all classes of a great industrial community with affection and reverence. On that very account, one may surmise, he was the less willing to remain there, now that he could no longer fill his accustomed place in its activities. His removal to a place so remote from the larger centres and from the opportunities of public life as Elgin is, was in itself a surrender to age, and as such he accepted it with perfect cheerfulness.

To his imagination, however, Elgin was neither obscure nor remote, but was a place of beloved memories and associations, his proper home, a mother-city to which he owed service, in whose lap he would rest and be strengthened for such things as God might still have for him to do. There were plans which he might hope to carry out. One was for a worthy commemoration of the founding of Elgin Cathedral seven hundred years ago come 1924—that might be clothed with something of at least spiritual splendour. Another was that the Scottish Church Society might carry out a half-formed purpose to hold its next Congress in Aberdeen, and thereafter to visit Elgin, receive his always lavish hospitality, and be made better known to his fellow citizens and neighbours of Moray. Then again, if the *Maison Dieu* scheme could not be presently or completely carried into effect, something might be done along its lines, or a beginning of it made, once he was himself on the spot to further it. Most of this he tells for himself in a letter to a friend:—

To Mrs. Rowbotham: “Braemoriston, Elgin: 27th August, 1922: You must not think that our silent departure was any sign of indifference to the friends whom we were leaving. When we left the College our neighbours had all left before us, and I was too poorly and the day too wet for me to be able to go as far as the Library. Though there is still a good deal to do, I found everything that could be done prepared for my comfort. . . . It was rather an adventure, taking the house, but it is already justifying my boldness. It is a delightful residence, with grounds far more extensive than I had the least idea of, adorned with fine old Scots firs, a number of beautiful birches—the largest I have seen in Scotland—and one or

two superb beeches. Even the extensive—the appalling—basement turns out better than we feared, and the large kitchen is a parlour as well for our two admirable maids.

“The Parish Minister—for, being on the north side of the Lossie, we are in the Parish of Spynie—the Rev. Mr. Mair, is a very learned man, and I have been talking over some plans with him for making my books useful to the clergy of the neighbourhood, and for such Church work as may be within my power. We are in the Burgh (and City) of Elgin, and go to the Parish Church there, where my father was an elder, where I had my first Communion, and where I was Assistant for some nine months till an unexpected call from a new Chapel (St. Stephen’s) at Broughty Ferry, led to my Ordination (9th April, 1873). From that I went to Aberdeen in 1881, and in 1898 to Glasgow. So that Glasgow had the longest of my periods of service, and as I look on those twenty-four years, I feel that at least I gave it my best, and most certainly received enormous encouragement from you, Mrs. Rowbotham, and the other kind friends of the various societies, from my dear students and honoured colleagues, and from our delightful Church (St. Bride’s, Partick—Have you ever been in it?) and its very able Minister. So it *was* a wrench to leave the City of St. Mungo, and I am very much pleased by receiving the Degree of LL.D., to be, even after my resignation takes effect on 30th September, a member of its great University.”

“Braemoriston, August 24th: My first round of the rich and extensive garden. Literally I sat under my vine and under my fig-tree, though the former has no grapes on it.”

“August 26th: No one came to see us to-day. I might have made some calls, but the House of God has the first claim upon me, and I abstained from going outside the gates. But there is much to see inside them.”

“August 27th: Day wet in the morning, but we drove to the Parish Church for forenoon Service. The interior is horribly disfigured by the organ behind the pulpit.”

The miseries of the Near East continue to burden him—“dreadful news from Asia Minor.—‘He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.’ We have flattered Mohammedans into ——” and there in his weakness he stops, his sentence unfinished. But when a cousin brings him “a peach and a green fig, large and juicy,” such as seem to ripen on open walls on that favoured Moray coast, it reminds him of those he gathered “in Smyrna in 1890. Alas, poor Smyrna,

now a heap of ashes !” And again—“ Eagerly anxious over Near East Christians.”

These are among the last entries by his own hand in his diary—even that had now to be dictated :¹ and with the removal of the restraint of penning them, his remarks as dictated became here and there almost amusingly incisive—too much so sometimes for discreet quotation. One seems to recognise in them the poignant cadence of his northern speech, rather than the balance of his written composition.

“ November 29th : Execution of Greek traitors, which seems to have caused a greater commotion than the massacre of Smyrna. Statesmen do not like such examples.”

“ December 3rd : Had a delightful quiet Sunday at home with three Services. Lessons in the new lectionary of the Scotch Episcopal Church.

“ In St. Giles’ and Glasgow Cathedral : St. Andrew’s Day superseding Advent, at a time when the world seems to have forgotten judgment to come.”

“ December 6th : Mr. Mair called and gave formal leave for our receiving Holy Communion in our own home.”

“ December 8th : The *Church Times* contains an article by Dr. Gore which might have been my own down even to Dr. Pirie’s question in the Hall in 1869, on the Spirituality of the Church. In 1872 I wrote at Stirling sermons on the Trinity, and the Church as the Body of Christ, formulating the doctrines I have preached ever since. Dr. Gore is seven years younger than me.”

“ Mr. Bonar Law’s first nomination to a Bishopric. Canon Headlam goes to Gloucester. Wrote to congratulate him.”

“ December 11th : Reading Eusebius. Thinking much about my Croall lectures. Am convinced that the old accounts of the composition of the New Testament are true. Found out it was in his fourth year [that] Claudius made Agrippa King in Palestine, wishing Jews to leave Rome, as Kemal wants all Greeks out of Asia Minor.”

“ December 12th : Most deeply touched by Service of Intercession held for me in St. Enoch’s Parish Church, Glasgow, at the call of some of my friends. I never had a more sacred kindness done for me. It was wholly spontaneous.”

¹ The last entry made by himself is on November 15th : “ Dr. Milligan’s Moderatorship announced, and of course well received.” He refers to Professor George Milligan, son of his old friend,

"December 18th: *Glasgow Herald* of to-day announces that the new Pope has openly espoused the cause of the Turks against the Greek Christians; the wickedest thing, I think, in the way of schism I ever heard of. Much was expected of this Pope, but he has fallen far behind his literary namesake, Pius II."¹

It is almost the last entry in Dr. Cooper's journal—for he was growing weaker day by day: in great peace and quite restfully. All his cheerfulness had come back to him; and if one may say so, he enjoyed these last months at Elgin not less than he was accustomed to enjoy as it came the life which God gave him. His daily record speaks often and thankfully of his freedom from pain, the comfort of his sick-room, the affection which surrounds him, and the solicitude of his friends. It might have been otherwise—he might (he says once) have been in suffering, without resources in himself, with "few friends, and these teetotalers who frown on all social joys"—he could still, one sees, allow himself a jest. He knew that he was dying, but I think was entirely without fear of death.

Illness had not been allowed during his invalid years to bar him from the Holy Sacrament: and on December 20th it was ministered to him for the last time, by the hands of the Minister of St. Bride's, with whom for long his relations had been close and affectionate. After that he sank, and on December 27th became unconscious while endeavouring a last and unfinished benediction.—*The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God*: and so fell on sleep.

¹ Æneas Silvius, Pope 1458-1464: endeavoured to league together the Christian princes to resist the Turkish advance.

CHAPTER XVII

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES Cooper will be remembered as the steadfast and undiscouraged advocate of Christian Unity—possibly as the champion of a lost cause—possibly as in his time the principal mover of his people towards reconciliation in Christ, and on that account entitled to their lasting gratitude. He believed himself to be in God's providence marked for that work and he served its cause under a happy sense of mission, always expecting success and that God would give peace even in his life-time. So far as Scotland is concerned—and it was the distracted state of Scottish Church life which in the first place and from his boyhood onwards concerned him and which gradually led him to the wider outlook of his later years—he believed that any real reconstruction of the National Church must include that element of it which was deliberately extruded and driven into separation by the Settlement of 1693-4. It was part of Scotland, and as Scottish as any other part the nation. There are more types of Scot than one; and Scotland requires them all. John Forbes, Leighton, Walter Scott—he could not think these or such to be either aliens or renegades. Without them the Christian Society among us was mutilated. The Church of Scotland was in fragments: the Episcopal Communion in Scotland was one of its fragments: and without it the Church of Scotland could not return to wholeness.

One can see that Cooper's mind worked in the first place along lines like these, and that as time went on he came to recognise that the reconciliation with the National Episcopate involved a change of relation between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England, and that so he was led to prosecute his mission with an enlarged reference, across the Border and in Ireland. He admired the Church of England—he loved it—it could perhaps be said that he wooed

it : but if so, for Scotland's sake and because it could not be kept out of the question—it came into the scheme of reunion here, as he conceived it ; for communion with Scottish Episcopalians involved communion with English Episcopacy as well. The solution of the problem of the one reunion would be equally the solution of the further problem of the intercommunion of the two National Churches. Beyond that again, as by and bye it appeared, lay the still greater possibility of reunion wide as the Empire, and beyond that even the unity for which Christ prayed. But one must begin where one stands, and for a Scot Scotland comes first.

To speak then of Cooper's tendency as a tendency towards Anglicanism is to misunderstand. Anglicanism lay in the track of his aspirations for unity and he had to reckon with it. He did not desire anything because it was Anglican, but he found in Anglicanism many things which he desired, of which he would serve himself for his Church. Of the Reformed Communions the Anglican had, more than any other, preserved the Catholic system and order, and was therefore the natural link and mediator between the non-Episcopal Communions, the Lutheran, and the Oriental : beyond which, while Rome retains its present positions, Cooper did not look. This, as Lambeth has since recognised, constituted the trust and the responsibility of Anglicanism in relation to Catholic reunion. Presbyterianism on the other hand stood in a somewhat similar relation to the other non-Episcopal Communions : it assimilated to (it might almost be said that it coincided with) Anglicanism in doctrine, Sacrament, and theory of ministry and of Church order, and was not the less itself an Episcopal system that its Episcopate was corporate and not individual. It was therefore in its turn the natural link and mediator between the Episcopal and the non-Episcopal Communions of the Reformation. But of Presbyterians the Church of Scotland by its history and by its national status held a certain position of influence, if not of leadership, and was perhaps more than any other, representative of Presbyterianism as originally conceived, and as stated for example in the Second Helvetic Confession and by British divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Church of Scotland then might seem to be the key of the position and the pivot on which any hope of Catholic reunion must turn. To work for the improvement of its

relations to its Episcopal neighbours and for a revival of its own consciousness of its tradition and principles seemed the immediate service most necessary to the cause of reunion.

No one is likely in these days to describe such conceptions as mediæval, a term which at one time was somewhat grotesquely used to Cooper's prejudice. He seems rather to have been a futurist, formulating beforehand ideals which are now the commonplaces of the platform; anticipating the Lambeth proposals, and even reaching out towards the aspirations which actuate the *Faith and Order* movement of modern America.

At the same time he was in his personal position a Presbyterian, holding the Presbyterate to be the fundamental and essential order of ministry, and justifying the action of the Church of Scotland by which, when the Episcopate failed it in 1560, it fell back on the inherent function of the Presbyterate, and on that basis evolved for itself a practical application of the Catholic system—a course which in the circumstances he held to be within its right. He had no wish to see Episcopacy substituted in Scotland for Presbytery, any more than he had to return to the policy of the National Covenant and to enforce Presbytery in England. He desired that the two systems should supplement each other in combination, the Scots Episcopalians adopting our series of Courts, while we obtained a new efficiency for our Courts by adopting their constitutional Episcopate. Something of the sort had existed from 1610 to 1638, and notwithstanding royal interference had as he thought worked, for culture at least, to good result. He insisted always on the retention of the Church Courts and General Assembly as much as he insisted on the Courts' need of a personal head to secure the efficiency of their leadership and oversight. No one would have disliked more than he to lose his place in these Courts and the share which they gave to him, a simple Presbyter, in Church government.

Dr. Cooper will be remembered too for his work in reviving Scottish interest in Ecclesiology—perhaps one should say, in creating such an interest—for, except as a detail of antiquarianism, the subject had not been pursued in Scotland. From a very humble beginning, shared with four or five friends in Aberdeen, he gradually built up an Ecclesiological Society, numerically at least the strongest in existence, with active branches at three centres, in-

cluding Edinburgh and Glasgow—at what cost of time and toil only the reader of his diaries can estimate. The subject of course interested him for its own sake, but the Society meant more to him than a means of inducing others to share that interest—it brought together people of all Churches on the ground of a common study of worship and its accessories—it threw them together in frequent meetings and excursions—it led them to know and understand one another—it tended to harmonise their conceptions of fellowship in approach to God ; and in so far, it subserved the cause of Christian unity. This, I think, was the chief value of the Society in his eyes, and certainly the Society itself was his pride and joy. To help it was to put him under personal obligation. One need hardly say that with him ecclesiology and religion were never separate : in one of his last letters about the affairs of the Society he says that he hopes that it will never lose its devotional aspect.

In theology Dr. Cooper was in the last degree conservative of the Catholic tradition. That is to say that he based himself upon the Creeds of the undivided Church, and saw in them the only conceivable doctrinal basis for reunion. Granted the Creeds, he would in that regard have asked for no more. Canon Drury who knew him well, has remarked¹ that his opposition to alteration of the terms of subscription to the Westminster Confession was “on the surface difficult to reconcile with his known sympathy with Catholic doctrine,” and explains it by his fear of Modernism. To an Anglican the Westminster Confession probably means “Calvinism”—to Cooper, on the other hand, it was the document which for the Church of Scotland states the content of Catholic doctrine. Cooper may have adhered in mind to the theology of St. Augustine, and so far as it is the theology of one of the Doctors of the Church, probably did so : but he could write, as in one of his letters he does, of “the repulsive and utterly unscriptural Calvinism,” which was taught by some of our preachers of a century or more ago. If not a Calvinist, he was certainly Pauline in his own preaching, insisting not only on “righteousness and temperance,” but also on “judgment to come.” While he held to the Westminster standards for their Catholic orthodoxy, he valued them in a secondary sense for their Sacramental statements, which entirely satisfied him, and for their safeguarding of Church

¹ Obituary Notice, *Church of Ireland Gazette*, over the initials T.W.E.D.

order and Ministry: "not a whit less the ordinances of Christ."

But while the wider public knew him chiefly as the champion of unity, the ecclesiologist, the conservative theologian, perhaps also as one who hankered after Episcopacy (he would not have denied the impeachment: some of his friends, I fear, he thought too rigidly Presbyterian for the occasions of the existing world), he was far more the humble Christian, the diligent seeker after God and His holiness, the evangelical preacher, the fearless pastor, the mentor of souls, the endlessly kind and generous friend of the needy—in need of every sort and in whatever form it met him. He did not "pass by on the other side." I have seen him stop in an Aberdeen back street to throw his arm round the shoulders of a small and ragged boy who was disturbing the quiet of a Sunday afternoon—whispering in his ear, and sending him away solemnised; and that was characteristic. He was prompt in rebuke when he saw occasion—very gentle rebuke, but effective. He was still more prompt in kindness, watching his opportunity to help, meditating on cases in which he might intervene with aid or with comfort, remembering the neglected and seeking for them their opportunity. He was seldom asked to use his influence for a friend—because in most instances he had anticipated request. In such matters he was assisted by his enormous memory. Most of us sympathise and forget—but he did not seem to forget. Dr. Cooper was openhanded in matters of expenditure—long after he removed to Glasgow he had still his pensioners in Aberdeen—in his journal there is mention of a windfall of money and that one-fifth of it has already been destined to an appropriate act of kindness; and then "we must pay our tithes to God." In this case at least, tithes, not a tithe; and the tithe of the remainder besides.

He was lavish in hospitality and took singular pleasure in making gifts, devising them, finding occasion for them. He had a tenderness for the aged. As a lad he was rallied on his affection for old ladies, and throughout life he cultivated them with ungrudged attention—partly, I think, because others did not, and partly because he enjoyed their store of tradition and anecdote; he probably owed to their conversation much of his own knowledge of the families of North-East Scotland and of their history, and many of his good stories. Lord Cockburn has told

us of the old Scotswomen of a previous generation—their forcefulness and wit and great decision of mind: and the type persisted in Moray and Aberdeenshire—he had an instance of it in his Mother. But he honoured age in men as well and delighted to shew a ceremonious respect to his seniors in years or in social standing—it was matter of principle that each should receive his due. His other main affection was for youth and especially for boys and young men—in his classes, Church or University, in the O.T.C., in the public schools, in reformatories, or among the endless ramifications of his kindred. Where he visits, he notes “the delightful children,” perhaps with names, ages and dispositions. Children were as fond of him—which was curious, for he was incapable of anything like romps and knew nothing of their more violent pursuits.

He fervently disliked Puritanism—both in the historical and in the popular sense. Puritanism in the past meant to him the Cromwellian conquest of Scotland, the humiliation of its Church, and the havoc wrought in its worship and godly custom by the leaven of English Independency. By Puritanism in the present he understood grimness in religion, the dislike of the beautiful, the rejection of the symbolic, and any non-human condemnation of pleasant things because pleasant. To Dr. Cooper life was pleasant and a thing to be made pleasant for other people; and while he advocated the discipline of fasting and observed fasts as well as feasts, he had in him nothing at all of the ascetic in the popular sense of the word. He loved human fellowship and that by no means fellowship only in belief or in worship, but thought that social intercourse and friendly contact in recreation and mutual entertainment went far to prepare the way for the higher forms of communion and to give them actuality. He was full of jest and humour and good humour, and in society laughter and cheerfulness followed him—a dinner went well, a house party was probably a success, where he was guest. He was charming in conversation—not that he was a wit or that his talk invited repetition, but it was good talk and full of fun and round his place at table people were interested and gay, so that important people pressed their invitations upon him, and a regimental Mess would want him back, and young people came round him, and affectionate letters followed his visits. He made lasting friendships on short acquaintance. He speaks of his good

luck in fellow travellers, but in that he made his own luck by the way. "He was," as one said of him, "the most friendly man one could hope to find on earth."

When he went to Glasgow he was welcomed into the pleasant and congenial society of the College Quadrangle, which included Lord Kelvin, Principal Story, Professor Hastie, Professor Jack, Professor Medley, Sir William Gairdner, Dr. Cleland, and others. Mrs. Cooper writes:—"Dr. and Mrs. Story saw much company, and there was a good deal of entertaining in the College Court. As Dr. Cooper became known in Glasgow beyond the University, invitations poured in. As soon as he was settled in No. 8 he began to invite his students to dinner. He used to say that he never knew the men until they had dined with him; and it was characteristic of him that the students' dinner parties were as carefully considered and served as those for his most distinguished guests. He always said that a dinner party refreshed and rested him. I have seen him many times, after a full day's work toiling upstairs to dress when it seemed as if bed were the fittest place for him: yet he always returned fresh, interested in every detail. I think that for many years he was in the habit of writing to his Mother, telling her of his experiences and, that so he acquired the habit of minute observation—the decorations, the food, the dresses and jewels of the ladies were all noted and remembered.

"But from the time of his ministry in Aberdeen he made it his rule never in Lent to go out to dinner or to a theatre. In 1914 all social things stopped, and he always said that we made a great mistake in not seeing more of our friends in those troubled years. His house was always open for meetings and At Homes of the Societies, the Shakespeare Society, the Scottish Church Society, the Ecclesiological Society, in which he was interested."

With all his flow of conversation he was a man of singularly guarded speech, without gossip, without depreciation of others, without shadow of unkindness. Being human and among human beings, he must have had his dislikes, but one did not discover them, unless from a certain ruefulness or touch of the plaintive in his voice when their names occurred. In the rarer case of serious alienation, there was simply silence as to the offender; he was not mentioned. Almost the sharpest reference which occurs among his papers—and there are few such

—is that once he speaks of certain whom he took to be mischief-makers as “spiders in their den”; and then it is with apology to himself—“if an occasional lapse from charity may be forgiven.” There was no fault-finding in him as to men or things. He esteemed most men and enjoyed most things and tended to exaggerate the good in both. His last word in the account of the places at which he had stayed—even of those to which he had gone an invalid in quest of health—is again and again, “We have been very happy here.” If it was not a beautiful place, it had been interesting and he had met delightful people, and everyone had “been most kind.”

His colleague, Professor Rait,¹ writes:—

“Dr. Cooper was an accomplished scholar of wide and varied learning. In the course of a busy life, he never was able to produce any large work which would convey to posterity adequate evidence of his attainments, and perhaps his interests were too wide to permit him to devote himself to the exclusive study of any one period. Yet his knowledge was deep, both in literature and in history. He possessed an intimate acquaintance not only with the general history of Europe, ecclesiastical and civil, but also with many topics largely neglected in this country, such as the history of the Church in France between the close of the reign of Louis XIV and the Revolution, and, again, in the nineteenth century. British history, and especially the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, was always, for him, part of the general history of Europe, and he exercised an important influence in checking the tendency to adopt a purely insular standpoint. To this command of the great movements which constitute European History, he added a large stock of special knowledge, illustrated by his edition of the *Chartulary of the Church of St. Nicholas at Aberdeen*. It shows both an intimate acquaintance with mediæval Latin, acknowledged by so distinguished a mediæval scholar as the late T. G. Law, and a familiarity with obscure and intricate liturgical topics. In his many scattered contributions to later Scottish ecclesiastical history, including some admirable articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he made many valuable original suggestions, and later investigators will recognize, perhaps more fully than his own generation, the importance of his

¹ Robert S. Rait, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., LL.D., Professor of Scottish History and Literature, Glasgow; Historiographer Royal for Scotland.

exposition of influences and personalities ignored or misunderstood in the conventional and traditional estimates of the factors which formed Scottish history in the century that followed the Reformation.

“ I had never the privilege of being a pupil of Dr. Cooper, except in the sense in which all his friends were his pupils. He himself would have said that he was the pupil of all his friends, for his modesty in these matters was invincible. No man ever listened with more sincere courtesy to those whose learning was far inferior to his own. He paid young students, as I well remember, the inspiring compliment of grave attention and serious comment, and his comments were not delivered *ex cathedra* but conveyed with a gracious assumption of equality. There was in his whole outlook a fundamental appreciation of the brotherhood of learning. Holding his own conclusions very firmly, he was always eager to enlarge his knowledge of the facts upon which conclusions are based, and no distinctions, neither of age or of social rank, or of prestige in the world of scholarship, were allowed to interfere with the consideration he gave to new suggestions. He was ready to learn even from those from whom he differed most widely, however strongly he repudiated the inferences which they drew from new facts or new theories.

“ This attitude of mind was, I believe, part of his whole-hearted human interest alike in the men and women around him and in the men and women of the past. When I think of Dr. Cooper as an historian, I think of a learned man for whom history was full of living human beings. He was never satisfied with a cold record of what men had done ; he wanted to know about their appearance, their dress, their emotions, their temptations, their tastes, their wit. He pictured their surroundings, associating with a generation or an individual the introduction of some of the flowers and the plants which he knew and loved : the garments, the food and wines, the amusements, the social customs, of an era were part of its history. His mind was full of a rich and abundant knowledge of the details that constitute so large a part of the life of any generation, and this knowledge was acquired not only from acute observation of historic houses and historic scenes and from contemporary memoirs, but also from wide and varied reading in general literature and especially in poetry. No one who talked with him can forget how such knowledge flowed easily and

naturally into his conversation, and those who have listened to a lecture like that on 'The Church of Scotland in Sir Walter Scott's Novels' will remember the loving skill with which he re-constructed past life from incidental remarks and hints. His memory was almost unfailing, and his fertility of illustration never ceased to astonish and delight me. He possessed both the knowledge and the temperament of a great historian."

Only experts are entitled to speak of his place as a historical scholar and as a teacher of his subject, and to such I have left it to do so. The Church of which he had to tell the history was always in his view the Body of Christ, the fruit of the Incarnation, the Temple of the Holy Spirit, the sphere and the instrument for the fulfilment of Divine purpose. It could be treated, he said, only in an atmosphere of prayer. And it could be understood only as something continuous through the ages, and could be justly seen at any point only if considered in its continuity. If one were to judge from one's own narrow experience of Church History as taught in the seventies, one would suppose that it had to deal with "the first four centuries" *plus* the "Reformation period"—as Germany and as Scotland were affected by that movement. Things are different now. Cooper's courses were numerous and extensive and he added to them year by year—he was writing freshly in the last sessions of his professoriate. He had a peculiarly intimate acquaintance with the history of the Gallican Church, and with that of Scotland in the immediately post-Reformation decades, our knowledge of which he did much to clarify. But he lectured also on such subjects as the Conversion of Europe, the Eastern Empire and its religious life, the Crusades, the Reformation in England and in Ireland, Church History of Scotland in the eighteenth century and in the earlier nineteenth century. One need not suppose that he was a strikingly effective lecturer. He accused himself of diffuseness. He knew too much and was too anxious to tell everything. He saw as he went so many parallels in later or modern instances and had so many practical inferences and was tempted into digressions and application to present or to probable contingencies. Whatever might be his immediate topic, his students were taught to see in it example or warning for their own future occasions. His men received something of a spiritual as well as of an intellectual discipline. He aimed in fact

to train able ministers of Christ rather than to produce graduates in theology: yet his students did not fail in graduation. Possibly his presentation of the subject carried its own stimulus, and even helped to realisation of its vital interest. He had great personal influence upon his men. After his death a flood of letters came from those who had passed through his hands, some of them conventional, most of them highly individual; but in almost all there is recurrence of the same thoughts—that he had been loved and that the writers owed him a great debt—each says it in his own way, but all have that to say and say it earnestly.

One of his old friends—Dr. Dunn, already quoted—writes of a visit paid to Dr. Cooper at an hour when he was due for duty: “Will you do me the honour (he said to me) of staying for my lecture? Of course I stayed, and a more interesting hour I have seldom spent. It was gratifying to note the happy relations that subsisted between the teacher and the taught—all so free and easy and yet so pleasant. Discipline was simply a thing never thought of, because not in the very least required in that room. The Professor sat just like a father surrounded by his children, and you could see that they more than respected—they *loved* him.”

Professor Fulton writes of him in the *Aberdeen University Review* as perhaps “the greatest ecclesiastic in Scotland of his day.” He says, “I was among his first students when he came to Glasgow: and indeed, as he used often to remind me, I was the first he enrolled; and I can bear witness to the fact that from the very first he made no concealment of his views. And in seeking to inspire us with his own love of liturgical forms, he succeeded at least in purifying and enriching our ideas of worship: in seeking to instil into us his own high conception of the Christian Ministry he succeeded at least in giving us a new sense of the greatness and grandeur of the office to which we aspired and of the self-effacement it demands.—

O Sacerdos, quid es tu?

Nihil et omnia.

“Yes, undoubtedly, he was a sacerdotalist: but in the sense that he at once magnified the ministerial office, and humbly sought to fulfil it. In his obedience to the practical claims of the Christian Ministry lay in fact the deepest secret of his influence over us—an influence often potent

where unacknowledged, and even where actually repudiated. We admired him for his great and manifold learning. We were impressed by his knowledge of the Scriptures and by his simple acceptance of them and of the Catholic Creeds. But it was his sincerity, his practical loyalty, which won us. It was scarcely possible to look day by day upon that earnest pious face and to come into daily contact with a nature so gentle and considerate, so plenteously endowed with the most excellent gift of charity, without being stirred to reverence and affection. It has been said of Dr. John Forbes, his hero among Scottish Churchmen, that he was not only 'a giant of learning' but 'a saint of God,' and the words are not inapplicable to Dr. Cooper himself.

"Most of us, I am sure, did not, while still his students, reach a true appreciation of his worth and qualities. . . . We learned, however, to appreciate all these things better as, after College days, he pursued us with his friendship ; for there are scores of his old students in our Scottish Parishes to-day who experienced his continued interest in them and in their work, unabated to the last ; and to the last a warm-hearted welcome ever awaited them in his home.

"Nor do I think that his first students at least were able fully to appreciate his abilities and achievements in his own department of sacred learning. I have particularly in mind his knowledge, large and accurate, of patristic and mediæval Latin (and obviously his rich and stately English style was moulded by his Latin studies) : his diligent researches in the fields of Christian Liturgics : and his continuous devotion to Ecclesiology, more especially to the study of the Ecclesiological Antiquities of his own land. One should remember also his early matured judgments, incisive, strong, and often sweeping, which he was ever ready to defend by concrete instance, concerning the personalities and events of our English and Scottish Church History."

A former Student¹ writes : "He made one feel that Church History, and indeed all history, had its real centre in Christ, and that a true understanding of His Nature and Person and Teaching was essential to a study of the organisation and development of the Church. A careful and discriminating account of the early heresies of the Church was an

¹ The Rev. Wm. Napier Bell, M.A., sometime of Saughtree.

important feature of Dr. Cooper's teaching. This I found of the utmost value. . . . One was forewarned and forearmed in view of the recurrent outbreaks of heresy by which the Church is always liable to be distressed. In Dr. Cooper's hands the presentation of the evolution and development of orthodox doctrine was no mere dry theological discussion *in vacuo*, but a living presentation of living issues touching the very foundations of Christian life and work. *Lex orandi, lex credendi*, was a phrase constantly on his lips, and he made one realise how true it was that the Church fulfils its mission only in proportion as it possesses a full and adequate conception of the great verities of the Christian Faith. . . . He somewhat over-estimated the capacity of his students: for much of the ground covered was unfamiliar to us, and involved a larger amount of reading and research than was likely to be given by the average student. . . . But the fact that he gave one credit for knowing more than one really did, put one upon one's honour and was stimulus towards an effort to be not altogether unworthy of so learned and competent a teacher. . . . One of the most notable features in Dr. Cooper's teaching was that he never failed to touch and dilate upon points that might be useful to us in practical work. His wide knowledge, not only of ecclesiastical history, but in relation to national life and thought as well, enabled him to impart to us many valuable hints as to the administration of Church affairs. . . . He welcomed honest and sincere criticism and was always helpful in clearing up difficulties and doubts. No case of sickness among his students ever passed unnoticed. He would make time in the midst of a busy life to visit those who were afflicted by sickness or bereavement. Those who were engaged in practical work as Student-Assistants brought to him their difficulties and problems and were encouraged by his sympathetic hearing and kindly counsel. He was far more than a mere Professor: he was a spiritual father and friend to all entrusted to his care."

Another speaks of his "uncanny gift for names and faces," and instances that he once recognised and addressed by name a student whom he had seen only once seven years before as a student in another Faculty, meeting him then by chance in the University library and chatting with him of his studies. He speaks too of his unbounded generosity and hospitality, and tells how on an occasion the exit

examination for his year happened to coincide with a royal visit to the University. It was impossible to go and come for lunch, since entrance to the buildings was closed and the Union was closed as well. In the circumstances the natural course seemed to be to report to Dr. Cooper, and he at once called them into his house and provided an impromptu meal, ("and wines and smokes!") for fifteen hungry men. And he recalls his Professor's gentleness in judgment of offenders and slackers and his patience with the small sillinesses in which youth sometimes expresses its intention to be humorous. He says that in his class men learnt much more than Church History—"Liturgiology, Architecture, Psalmody, Homiletics, Pastoral Theology, Church Law—these he taught by the way, and much else. Above all, he was always himself and the memory of him is a priceless possession; we all loved him."

Mention has been made of Dr. Cooper's warm feeling for the men who came to the University from the Western glens and islands: one of them writes:—"Although Dr. Cooper was too great a man to be partial to class or clan, still there is good ground for the common belief that he was particularly kind to Highland Students. This was mostly owing to the fact that so many of them came to the University in the old days handicapped by financial or other difficulties. I shall never forget the kindness with which he received me when I first went to see him. He took me to his study and very soon made himself acquainted with my pecuniary and educational equipment, and finding me defective in both, his interest in my case rather increased. "You must pay your fees to the Clerk," he said, "and I must accept a fee, but I shall return the pounds to you and my fee will be the odd shillings." This he did as long as I was a student. Before we parted at that first interview, he knelt down and prayed with me and for me: a prayer of practical but beautiful simplicity, that went direct to my heart, and went as directly, I feel sure, to the Throne of Grace. I went away much encouraged and much humbled and wondering, for I had come with some prejudice on account of what we called his 'ritualism.'"

Such an interview and such prayer were part of his habit with his men and not only on their first entrance to the Hall. He carried it to his deathbed, and prayed there with those of them who visited him in his last sickness. It may interest some of them to know that every 'homily'

submitted to him is entered in his diary with the writer's name and with some valuation or comment—unless that now and then there may be an ominous silence: generally it is “excellent,” or it is promising, or it is textual and praiseworthy: once or twice it is “really admirable.” Cooper knew his men one by one, as a father knows his children, the faithful in whom his heart is glad, and the less faithful. The writer last quoted hints penitently that his classes were not always so orderly as Dr. Dunn found them: and that is very possible. But there was very little that Cooper thought it necessary to resent, and things that another might have resented, he rather enjoyed. His parental management was entirely of the modern method. “My students,” he says in 1909, “are a great comfort to me.” He nursed their individual gifts, and long after they were professionally launched continued to encourage the more likely men in the prosecution of scholarship; one he will incite to candidature for a vacant chair; another he would have prepare a companion volume to his own *Soldiers of the Bible*—to be a handbook on *Soldiers of the Cross*—Martyr Missionaries from Apostolic times to the Martyrs of Uganda. “St. Boniface of Mainz and Raymond Lull would make magnificent chapters. And to each you should supply appropriate Gospels and Epistles”; while in another he has seen (and accurately) the stuff of which competent ecclesiologists are made. Much as he himself loved flowers, he dreaded for his men the rivalry of the Manse garden with the study.

The Minister of Ardchattan, where Dr. Cooper spent several holiday months, speaks of the reverence and affection which the parishioners learnt to feel for him, and then of his own first contacts with him as a Professor. On the principle of the appeal, “Don’t put him under the pump,” it had been foretold that if he came to Glasgow, Highland students at least in their severe conservatism would forsake its Hall to finish their studies elsewhere in safety from High-Churchism. “No prophecy was ever wider of the mark. The Highland students, and for that matter all the students, no sooner saw him than they were attracted to him, and no sooner heard him taking the devotions in the class-room than they realised that here was one who breathed the fragrance and grace of the sincerest piety into the old forms. His lectures also so visualised the past scenes of Church History that the various personages and characters

seemed to live before us. There was no attempt to force upon us a theory of the Church or a philosophy of the history, but 'whatsoever things were honest, whatsoever just, whatsoever pure, whatsoever things were lovely or of good report' in Church History or in life, he made us think of these things, and his own life gave the right setting and atmosphere.

" . . . Prior to his arrival (in 1898) at the University the professoriate were admired by the students as they might admire a snowclad mountain height. But there was not much human sympathy between the students' bench and the Professors' rostrum. From the first day, Professor Cooper's kindly interest in his students was felt and appreciated. When they were sick, he visited them, always bringing some suitable gift for the sufferer. When they were in difficulties of any kind, his aid was always at their disposal. He shewed sympathy in their lives, their hopes and their ambitions. His students were his friends as well as his disciples. He held special Communion for them at Christmas, and often at Easter. He took them to the old Cathedral of St. Mungo's that they might see in the glorious building the power of the faith which could thus express itself in stone, and in order that no detail worth noting might be omitted he brought with him the late Mr. MacGregor Chalmers to explain the intricacies and beauty of the design.

" . . . Taking him for all in all the impression he left on my mind was that which was said of him by one who heard his first sermon in the Bute Hall, and who could not restrain his feelings :—' Here was a man of God.' "

Some of those who passed through his classes have found their way into secular professions. One, a Classical Master, speaks as others do of the deep impression made by " his fatherly devotion and his care for the spiritual health of each aspirant to the office of the Ministry," and by his custom of private prayer with each, and of the " many instances of his immense kindness of heart and of his great wisdom in dealing with those who differed from him."

No purpose would be served by multiplying these extracts, which in so much repeat one another. He is fortunate, and probably also deserving, who has won so unanimous a verdict from such a jury :—for youth is clear-sighted and seldom leans to mercy in its judgment of seniors and of persons in authority.

Dr. Cooper was sometimes described as "priestly." That is high praise. One can hardly say more of a man's character or demeanour, than use of it that term. When Robert Burns speaks of "the priestly father" he suggests to imagination something very noble; and in Heaven, if we may believe St. John the Apocalyptist, the word expresses what Christ makes men to be. A priestly instructor of youth—that too is rather a fine conception; possibly Dr. Cooper in some measure attained to realise it. There are some—and the fault is with those who have borne the name of priest, but unworthily—to whom it seems to suggest something furtive, subtle, greedy of power over men: in that sense it would be ludicrously inapplicable to him—he was not furtive but extremely direct; not subtle, but blunt; not tyrannous, but lowly and in a literal way the servant of all. He was extremely courageous and was free from the fear of being in the minority. He was, I think, most at ease when in the minority, knowing then that he was probably in the right. He was nothing of a mystic and not in the least a visionary—no more of a dreamer than is a farmer who sees land badly tilled and thinks he could do better by it; or than a man of business who sees affairs badly managed and sees too how they might be conducted to advantage; or than one of a family which is at odds with itself, who would fain have its differences adjusted. His thought moved always in the concrete and fixed itself on the actual and on the thing which should next be done. He proposed nothing fantastic or remote, but the practicable, if men would do it. He agreed with the ancient writer who says, "It is possible if God wills it"—and he saw no doubt as to Christ's will for the Church of Scotland.

And there, I think, one reaches the spring and secret of his life. We knew him with his keenness and indefatigable hopefulness, his simplicity and purity and boyishness, his gaiety and humour, his friendliness and readiness to befriend, his quaintness and his distinction, the savour of personality which made him different from others, more charming and more loveable, which caused that in any company one would observe him and be curious of him; but under it all was an earnest devotion to our Lord, a profound piety, one supreme conviction, and an unlimited purpose of obedience to it. His works follow him. His influence lives in those whom he taught to see God and to

serve Christ, and through them he still touches our life and will help to mould the better world and fairer Church for which he prayed. *Blessed are the peacemakers—the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. Peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers : for thy God helpeth thee.*



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